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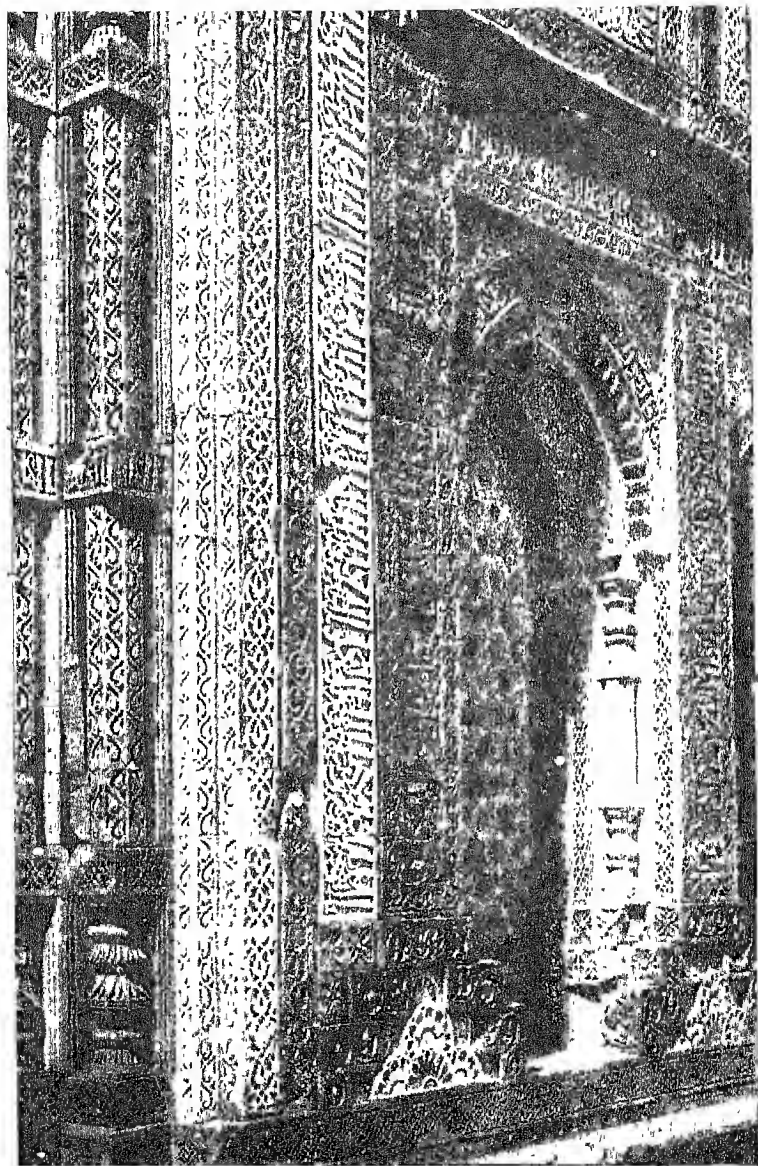
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THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
SULTANATE OF DEHLĪ

*This book is substantially
the thesis approved for the
degree of doctor of philosophy
by the University of Cambridge*



Ala'i Darwāzah

THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
SULTANATE OF DEHLĪ

by

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SECOND EDITION (REVISED)



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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE present edition contains more information; the text has been enlarged by a fuller discussion of certain topics; the references have been expanded; opinions have been revised in one or two places; one appendix has been added; the bibliography has been brought up to date.

I am grateful to a number of scholars for some valuable suggestions, in particular to Shams-u'l-'ulamā al-Ḥāj Maulawī 'Abd-u'r-Raḥmān who drew my attention to a number of inaccuracies.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to my friend Shaiḫ 'Abd-u'r-Rashīd, lecturer in History in the Muslim University, Aligarh, who brought to my notice *Dastūr-u'l-'albāb fi 'ilm-i'l-ḥisāb*, a manuscript in the Rampur State Library. This work is of invaluable importance for the students of the agrarian and revenue administration of Fīrūz Shāh's reign. The author is Ḥājī 'Abd-u'l-Ḥamid Muḥarrir Ghaznawī who finished the book in 760 A.H. He had planned the work in 734 A.H., hence there can be little doubt that he was familiar with the administration of the previous reign as well. His descriptions of the various institutions and their working as well as his glossary of technical terms are most illuminating. Shaiḫ 'Abd-u'r-Rashīd, not only drew my attention to this important work, he also lent me the transcriptions made for him in instalments as he received them and the references in this treatise are to his copy. It was very fortunate indeed that I came to know of this manuscript at a stage when I could use it in this edition.

University of Delhi :
The 8th July, 1944.

I. H. QURESHI.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

SCHOLARS and teachers of Indian Muslim history have long felt the need of a comprehensive study of the administration of the sultanate of Dehlī. This is an attempt to meet this need. I will consider myself amply rewarded if this book is considered useful by the students of this period.

I have attempted to consult all available sources. I have spared no pains to base my conclusions on sound evidence and have not neglected any material which I was able to find. The work is based mostly on primary authorities ; but the writings of later scholars have not been ignored. Numismatic and epigraphical evidence has been extensively used.

It is now being gradually recognized that the sultanate was a part of the greater world of Islam, that it possessed intimate sources of knowledge about the rest of the Muslim world, in particular of the eastern lands, and that the history and institutions of the empire of Dehlī cannot be properly understood if they are divorced from the general background of Islamic history. Hence, I have considered it necessary to consult relevant works on law, politics and statecraft.

I am greatly indebted to the works of many scholars. In particular my obligation to Mr. Moreland is great ; where I have differed, it has been with a full sense of my temerity, but my opinions are based on fresh evidence as well as on further examination.

It would have been impossible to write this book without the help and guidance given me by my teacher and supervisor at Cambridge, Dr. R. B. Whitehead. I can never repay the debt of gratitude that I owe him ; he has been much more than a teacher to me, and took a paternal

interest in my welfare at Cambridge. He shared my enthusiasm and encouraged me whenever I felt baffled by a problem.

Nor can I ignore the advice and help which I received from others. Mr. James Passant, director of studies in History in my college (Sidney Sussex) at Cambridge, was always willing to discuss problems and their bearings with me. Sir Richard Burn and Dr. Collins Davies, reader in Indian History at Oxford, made valuable suggestions. I am also grateful to Dr. T. G. P. Spear, my teacher, friend and colleague and until very recently the head of the department of History in St. Stephen's College as well as in the University of Delhi. I learnt History at his feet in St. Stephen's College as an Honours and post-graduate student. He most cheerfully came to my rescue whenever I required his help. I am also under deep obligation to another teacher of mine, the revered Shams-u'l-'ulamā al-Hāj Maulawī 'Abd-u'r-Rahmān, until lately the head of the department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in St. Stephen's College and in the University of Delhi. It was his erudition and encouragement which first fired my enthusiasm for the study of Indo-Muslim history. I must also mention my late lamented friend and colleague, Mr. K. M. Sarkar, a man of great promise, who had to bear the entire burden of my post-graduate work in St. Stephen's during my absence.

I also take this opportunity to thank the authorities of the various libraries and museums in Europe and India for giving me every facility in prosecuting my studies. My special thanks are due to Dr. Arberry of the India Office Library, Mr. Thomas of the Cambridge University Library and the authorities of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the National Bibliothek in Vienna.

I could not possibly have had this wonderful opportunity of devoting myself entirely to the preparation of this book but for the generosity of the authorities of St. Stephen's

College who released me from teaching work for the entire period I spent in Cambridge. I am full of gratitude to this institution, my *alma mater*, and in particular to its principal, Rai Bahadur S. N. Mukarji, who evinced constant interest in the progress of my work. My friend, the Revd. J. A. Lovejoy, vice-principal of St. Stephen's College, has laid me under a great obligation by correcting the proofs.

Lastly I must thank Sh. Muhammad Ashraf who kindly undertook to publish this book and who took great pains in its production. Sayyid 'Aṭā Husain Shāh of his staff, has, also, been exceedingly helpful in various ways.

The seal on the cover is the *tauqī'* of Sulṭān Ḥūtutmish and reads الكبرياء لله.

St. Stephen's College,
Delhi.

I. H. QURESHI.

The 28th February, 1942.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. M.	= <i>Ādāb-u'l-mulūk wa kifāyat-u'l-mamlūk.</i>
'Afif	= <i>Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī</i> by <i>Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif.</i>
Aghnides	= <i>Muhammadan Theories of Finance.</i>
Baihaqī	= <i>Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī.</i>
Baranī	= <i>Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī</i> by <i>Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn Baranī.</i>
C. H. I.	= <i>Cambridge History of India.</i>
D. A.	= <i>Dastūr-u'l-albāb fī 'ilm-i'l-ḥisāb.</i>
Dā'udī	= <i>Tārīkh-i-Dā'udī.</i>
E. & D.	= <i>History of India as told by its own Historians</i> by Elliot and Dowson.
I. B.	= <i>Tuḥfat-u'n-nuẓẓār fī gharā'ib-i'l-amṣār wa</i> <i>'ajā'ib-i'l-astār, Cairo Edition.</i>
J. Z.	= <i>Tamaddun-u'l-Islāmī</i> by <i>Jurjī Zaydān.</i>
Miḥāj	= <i>Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī.</i>
Moreland	= <i>Agrarian System of Moslem India.</i>
Mushtāqī	= <i>Wāq'āt-i-Mushtāqī.</i>
N. Wright	= <i>The Coinage and Metrology of the Sulṭāns of</i> <i>Dehlī.</i>
Proleg.	= <i>Ibn Khaldūn's Muqaddamah.</i>
S. A.	= <i>Ṣubḥ-u'l-a'shā</i> (O. Spies).
Sarwānī	= <i>Tuḥfah-i-Akbar Shāhī.</i>
Thomas	= <i>The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehlī.</i>
Tāj	= <i>Tāj-u'l-ma'āthir.</i>
'Utbi	= <i>Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī</i> (Persian version).
V. K.	= <i>Culturgeschichte des orient,</i> translated by <i>Khudā Bakhsh</i> as <i>The Orient under Caliphs.</i>

Longer names have been used for other authorities.

In case of some authorities whose authors are better known than their titles, the short names of the authors have been given.

ERRATA

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
5	2	hichw	which
12	9	A. C.),	A. C.),
49	8	abb	Rabb
116.	9	ممالک در	ولایت میان
117	1	encoutaging	encouraging
117	13	even it	even if it
130	36	f. 300a	pp. 5, 6
148	21	effected	affected
180	28	Sanjarī	Sajzī
187	26	Fiūrz	Firūz
245	16	nadāfi	naddāfi
252	11	19½-tankahs	19½ tankahs
261	24, 25	...	interpose line 2 from p. 262 between these two lines.
261	26	tassing	tassūj
281	16	Zafar-u't-wālih	Zafar-u'l-wālih
284	33	Ḍiyā	Ḍiyā
286	28	Bologna	Bologna
291	37	th	the
297	43	mumlāik	mumālik
312	5	Tauq'	Tauqī'

There have also crept in a few obvious mistakes in putting diacritic marks.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE division of time into epochs is but a historical convention ; for life never stands still. No change, however fundamental, overtakes a people in a moment ; every revolution in human affairs is only the culmination of long simmering forces. Yet, humanity would lose its way in the expanse of time without landmarks. In the history of India, the foundation of the sultanate of Dehli is one ; the restoration of Humāyūn is another. It was in 1193 that Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak captured Dehli and made it his headquarters as the viceroy of his royal master, Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām of Ghūr ; but officially the sultanate came into existence in 1206, when the viceroy became the first independent sultan of Dehli. There was a succession of Turkish, Sayyid and Afghān dynasties until the hereditary Mongol foe, now a brother Muslim and led by the cultured prince, Bābur, entered the domains of Ibrāhīm Lodī at the invitation of disaffected nobles and established the first Mughul empire in 1526. The sultanate was, however, revived by Sher Shāh Sūr in 1539-40 ; but Humāyūn watched his opportunity and for once in his life, he seized it and re-established himself at Dehli in 1555.

Every student of the history of the sultanate has to face the problem of stopping at 1526 or of including the Sūrs in his study. To treat them with the Mughuls has a certain advantage for the political historian, for the rise and the fall of the Sūrs are so intermingled with the affairs of the Mughuls that separate treatment is difficult. Still, the rule of the Sūrs was, technically, a part of the sultanate. The Sūr

The period under
review. .

styled themselves sultans and did not assume the Mughul title of *Pādishāh*; they looked upon the Timurids as intruders whose rule was to be treated as an unpleasant episode. (It is true that the restored Mughuls regarded the Sūrs as usurpers, whose memory was to be obliterated; yet from an impartial point of view, Sher Shāh's achievement was too brilliant and too abiding to be treated as a mere interlude. In reality, there is hardly any choice left for a writer on the history of institutions. Sher Shāh did not borrow his administration from Bābur and Humāyūn; he had a hearty contempt for their ill-organized government.¹ His system was the natural development of a long tradition; his institutions had their roots in the experiments of the sultanate.) The essentials of the Mughul administration, even after the highly-eulogized reforms of 'the world-illuminating wisdom' of Abū-'l-Faḍl's hero, were but an adaptation of the older system, sometimes not even thinly disguised. Yet, there are some remarkable changes under Akbar, and the end of the Sūr empire is a convenient date to stop and take stock of the ground won by the progress and evolution of institutions. It was Sher Shāh who started anew the administrative machinery of the sultanate; Akbar's officials had only to add a wheel here and adjust a lever there. Chronologically the sultanate does not possess continuity; geographically it lacks territorial definition, for its boundaries constantly changed; it is only in the smooth evolution of institutions that the sultanate is revealed as a political entity. For this reason this treatise covers the period from 1206 to 1555.)

A brief historical survey.

India first came into political contact with the Muslims when Muhammad bin Qāsim conquered Sind (711-713). Here was decided the vital question: What was to be the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus? Were the Hindus to be treated as *dhimmīs* and *mu'āhids*, a protected and allied

¹ Sher Shāh's remarks regarding Mughul administrative methods have probably been put too early into his mouth by 'Abbās Sarwānī (Sarwānī, f. 21a); but probably he did express these views later in life.

people, and taken into minor partnership, or, were hostilities to be carried to extremes? The Muslim lawyers were divided; but tolerance and political wisdom carried the day, and a precedent was established which was followed by subsequent conquerors and rulers. Muḥammad bin Qāsim employed the Hindus as revenue officials and treated their chiefs with consideration; he left them in possession of their territories on payment of tribute.¹ These principles were to be the fundamentals of Muslim policy in India.

(About three centuries later, the Ghaznavids established their rule in the Panjāb, the importance of which, from the administrative point of view, has not been properly assessed. The main reason is the lack of relevant material. If only Baihaqī's *magnum opus*, the *Tārīkh-i-āl-i-Sabuktigin* had survived in its entirety, our knowledge about the Ghaznavid administration would have been much fuller.) There can, however, be little doubt that the sultans of Dehli inherited the experience gained by the dynasty of Sabuktigin from two centuries of rule in India. This view is confirmed by the existence of parallel and sometimes identical institutions under the sultanates of Ghaznah and Dehli. (It will be a great mistake to isolate these sultanates from the rest of the Muslim world for the purpose of examining their institutions. When the Caliphate was strong, even distant provinces were under effective control, and the Abbasid tradition had become deeply rooted throughout the caliph's dominions. This tradition was handed down to the Ghaznavids through their original overlords, the Samanids. Besides, a particular kind of statecraft had sprung up in these succession states; this uniformity was due to the essential unity of Muslim culture, the universality of Muslim law and the mobility of Muslim men of genius.² In their treatment of the Hindus, the Ghaznavids followed in the footsteps of the Arab conquerors of Sind. Notable generals and reliable contingents provided by the conquered race fought in wars waged by Maḥmūd and his

¹ *Chach-nāmah*, pp. 208, 209; *Tuḥfat-u'l-kirām*, f. 259b; *Tāj*, f. 164a.

² *Vide* Chapters III & IX.

successors; Hindu chiefs and their tribute figure conspicuously in the chronicles; the revenue administration of the Panjāb must have employed considerable native talent.)

(Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak consolidated his conquests by organizing their administration.¹ It is obvious that he could not spare much time in the midst of his campaigns to work out new schemes of government; nor could he afford to make experiments.) There is a strong probability that he borrowed the institutions working at Lāhor, and that he employed a large number of experienced Ghaznavid officials. This tradition was considerably strengthened by the arrival of Fakhr-u'd-dīn 'Iṣāmī at the court of Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish. 'Iṣāmī had served as a wazīr at Baghdād. The sultan extended to him a warm welcome and appointed him his prime minister. A large number of experienced officials and generals arrived in the next few years from foreign countries, being driven from their homes by the Mongols.³ The sultanate thus came to possess expert administrators within the first two decades of its foundation. Considerable interest must have been taken in administrative affairs, for it was at this time that Fakhr-i-Mudabbir presented his *Ādāb-u'l-mulūk* to the sultan. The Abbasid tradition thus gained a firm footing in the administration of the sultanate of Dehlī.)

(The central authority weakened at the death of Īltutmish, and the real power passed into the hands of the 'Forty'. Their policy was to maintain a balance of power amongst themselves and to turn against anyone who threatened their domination. Balban, however, succeeded in breaking their power and in restoring the prestige of the central government. The independence and turbulence of the 'Forty' had

¹ *Tāj*, e.g., ff. 9b, 80b, 84b, 141b, 149a, 158, 164b, 181b, 182b, etc.

² *Firishtah*, i, p. 117. Also, 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ-u's-salāṭīn*, p. 122.

³ *Firishtah*, i, pp. 131, 132. Muslims from foreign countries were always welcome at the court of Dehlī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah gives details of how foreigners were received and treated at Dehlī (I. B., ii, pp. 80, 81). Also *vide Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 63. There was a special officer called *ḥājib-u'l-ghurabā* to receive and look after foreigners. The sultans were, however, reluctant to let foreigners take any wealth out of the empire. (I. B., ii, p. 42.)

considerably degraded the monarchy, and the natural reaction was that Balban introduced the Persian ceremonial which gave royalty a new dignity.¹ His court was the asylum of a large number of distinguished refugees—princes, administrators, scholars and artists. Dehli became the most enlightened city of the East and the fame of the sultanate spread to the four corners of the Muslim world.² Balban concentrated on home defence and on strengthening the administration. The rebellious elements were suppressed, and the country was considerably opened up by cutting down forests and constructing roads.³)

) Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād frittered away his heritage. Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī possessed too mild a temperament, and probably felt too insecure to insist on great reforms. His nephew, 'Alā-u'd-dīn, however, was a man of different calibre who stands in the front rank of bold and successful administrative experimenters. He established a tight control on economic life and worked it successfully. He had to maintain a large army to defend his dominions from recurring Mongol attacks, so he raised the revenue demand and took away the special perquisites of the Hindu chiefs.⁴ Even these measures and the wealth he had brought from the south could not suffice to pay his troops. 'Alā-u'd-dīn, therefore, reduced the prices of commodities so that he could get a soldier at less pay. With the help of an efficient staff, he succeeded in this scheme of price control.⁵ The conception and the success of the plan reveal expert knowledge and a remarkable insight into economic factors. This reign saw a great expansion of the influence of the state at the expense of the power of the Muslim and Hindu nobility.⁶

) Even Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh's profligate reign and the anarchy both preceding and following it could not undo 'Alā-u'd-dīn's great work. The harsher measures were abolished, and the peasant's burden was lightened; but it was left to Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq to consolidate the administration,

¹ Baranī, pp. 27-29, 30-32. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 50-52, 56-60.

⁴ *Vide* Chapter VI.

⁵ *Vide* Chapter VIII. ⁶ *Vide* Chapter X.

to restore the more reasonable privileges of the Muslim nobles as well as of the Hindu chiefs, and to enforce useful reforms.¹ This sultan possessed a sound political instinct; it is under him that the administrative system of the sultanate is seen at its best. So long as Muḥammad bin Tughluq did not interfere with the organization, he achieved remarkable success, and the prosperity and grandeur of his empire excited the admiration of the Muslim world; but very soon he started his disastrous experiments. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a man of remarkable attainments; his learning was profound; but his real place was a professorial chair, not the throne of Dehli. His ideas were brilliantly conceived, but he ignored the difficulties in their practical application. Never did a man fail more completely. His measures were attended by famines and natural disasters; bankruptcy and disaffection followed in the wake. The embittered sultan retaliated against the rebels by ruthless punishment, and the vicious circle became complete.² He lost his life in fighting the hydra-headed monster which his own indiscretion had raised.³

Firūz Shāh had to be content with a much smaller empire; and it took him long to heal the wounds Muḥammad bin Tughluq's policy had inflicted on the body-politic. He strengthened the state by conciliating the harassed population and by an effective reorganization of the administration. The peace and prosperity of his reign lulled the sultanate into a false sense of security; Firūz Shāh's unwise leniency towards his soldiers and officials paved the way for the anarchy which set in during his lifetime.⁴ After his death internal feuds weakened the central authority; two puppets were seen reigning together within the precincts of the capital. It was during this anarchy that the provincial dynasties of Jaunpūr, Mālwah and Gujrāt came into existence.

The final blow was dealt by Timūr. After the storm had passed away, the forces of reconstruction began to assert themselves. The Sayyids established some kind of authority

¹ Vide Chapters VI and X; also, *Baranī*, pp. 429-432.

² *Baranī*, p. 522.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 525.

⁴ *Afif*, pp. 298-301.

in the western remnant of the sultanate, but disorder was too widespread for them to control it. Most of their time was spent in fighting rebellions. The situation called for rulers of great vigour, which the dynasty sadly lacked. Its authority was reduced gradually to a mere shadow; and out of all the turmoil emerged Buhlul Lodī. He realized that single-handed he was not capable of restoring order to his newly acquired dominions; he, therefore, made himself the head of a tribal hegemony. His Afghān instincts as well as the political situation led him to this policy. The prestige and the authority of the monarchy had been completely undermined; almost every *pargana* was in a state of rebellion. The peasants and the chiefs—united by the common interest of withholding revenue and waylaying travellers—defied the central authority. Besides, there were the rival nobles who had not liked the rise of the Lodīs. Buhlul had neither the machinery, nor the army, nor the resources to fight this widespread disaffection; he, therefore, sent a general invitation to his fellow Afghāns to come and share his triumph and his responsibilities. These men spread into every corner of the sultanate and reduced the *pargana*s once again to order, though? of course, with varying success. They were attached to the Lodīs by ties of gratitude and self-interest, and the sultanate was transformed into a loosely-knit Afghān empire.¹ Buhlul was alive to the importance of putting his administration on a sound basis. The effects of his policy can be discerned in the gradual strengthening of his position: whereas at first he could scarcely cope with Jaunpūr, he later turned the tables completely and annexed the Sharqī kingdom. This could not be merely the result of Husain Shāh's military incapacity or the fickle favour of fortune. Buhlul's efforts bore full fruit in the next reign. Sikandar devoted himself to the consolidation of his dominions and the better organization of the administration.² There was now peace in the land which brought with it not only prosperity, but also a cultural renaissance, the most

¹ *Sarwānī*, ff. 3-4.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 335.

remarkable feature being that the Hindus were infected with the new enthusiasm for Muslim learning.

Sikandar Lodī succeeded in increasing the power and the prestige of the throne without unduly encroaching upon the interests of his nobles; his son, Ibrāhīm, however, was of a different temperament. Without understanding the nature of the Afghān hegemony, Ibrāhīm tried to emulate the older sultans in controlling the nobles. In putting his ideal of monarchy into practice, he imposed an irksome court ceremonial and took vigorous steps to crush the authority of the powerful Afghān lords whom he treated with severity and even injustice. The result was disaffection which Bābur utilized to his great advantage.

Bābur and Humāyūn do not come within the scope of this work; chronologically their reigns break the continuity of the sultanate, but they did not have much influence on the growth of institutions. The reasons are obvious: they had neither the time nor the inclination to alter the administrative organization of their new empire. Endowed with great energy and powers of generalship, Bābur was no administrator; his son, Humāyūn, a man of great culture, had even less opportunity or talent to introduce reforms into the government of the empire. When, after bitter experience of adversity, he did think of reorganization on his return, his so-called reforms largely consisted of the introduction of astrological considerations into matters of state.¹

Too lavish praise has been bestowed on Akbar; only recently has Sher Shāh been allowed a small share in the Great Mughul's glory. In actual fact Akbar's institutions were largely inherited from his predecessors. Even Sher Shāh, undoubtedly a capable monarch and a great administrator, has been credited with greater originality than he possessed. He enjoyed sovereignty only for six years, a considerable portion of which was spent in campaigns. It lay outside the range of human achievement to devise and put into practice, during this brief period, an original system of administration

¹ *Humāyūn-nāmah* by Khwādamīr, ff. 130-135.

which was to form the structure of the government for succeeding ages. His reforms consisted mostly in reviving institutions which had fallen into disuse; for Sher Shāh, like Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq, was a keen student of history and consciously borrowed successful measures of previous reigns.¹ Most of the institutions, however, Sher Shāh inherited in working order; but his personal interest in the administration increased their efficiency. Islām Shāh practically left the machinery as he had found it. He was the last capable ruler of his dynasty, which soon came to an end after his death.

It is the aim of this work to describe the administrative institutions during the sultanate period and to explain how they came to assume the form in which they are found under the Sūrs. The following is a preliminary outline.

Legally the sultanate of Dehli was a part of the Eastern Caliphate; even when the line of Baghdād caliphs came to an end, the fiction of allegiance to a *khalifah* was kept alive except for a short while when Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh assumed the caliphate. Muḥammad bin Tughluq acknowledged the supremacy of the Egyptian Abbasids; Khidr Khān, the first Sayyid ruler, was a vassal of Timūr and Shāh Rukh; subsequent sultans maintained the tradition of owing allegiance to a nameless caliph. In actual practice the sultanate was an independent empire exercising all the authority of a sovereign state. The form of the government was despotic; the sultan was the head of the state and its chief military commander. He was, legally, subordinate to the Muslim Law, which it was his duty to protect and enforce. He had no authority to alter the Law in its essentials, though he had a limited right to interpret it. With this reservation, his power was absolute, though it was checked by various political factors, which will be discussed later. The sultan was the pivot of the administration; his court was the very centre of the political and social life of the empire. Majesty surrounded itself with an elaborate cere-

¹ *Sarivānī*, f. 67a; *Firish-tah*, i, p. 232.

monial; etiquette was exacting; a numerous staff was necessary to maintain the splendour of the court; there was a large force of household troops. The sultan was the greatest patron of learning and art; he was the fountain-head of honour and patronage. These factors made the royal household an important department whose head was the *wakil-i-dar*. Proximity to the sultan being a source of pride and power, the household embraced some of the greatest dignitaries of the state; it also maintained a large number of *kārkhanahs* which supplied the court as well as departments of the government with provisions, stores and equipment.

It lay within the ambition of a noble to become *nā'ib-u'l-mulk* or Lord Lieutenant of the Empire; under strong sultans this was an empty title; the *nā'ib-u'l-mulk* of a weak monarch was virtually the regent.¹ He was the head of the army. The *'ārid-i-mumālīk* was responsible for the recruitment, payment and inspection of troops as well as transport and commissariat.

The head of the civil administration was the *wazīr*; his special domain was financial organization and administration. He was assisted by a *nā'ib-wazīr*, the *mushrif-i-mumālīk* and the *mustaufi-i-mumālīk*. The first was a general assistant, the second the accountant-general and the third the auditor-general of the realm; later the *mushrif* was the accounts officer responsible for income and the *mustaufi* for expenditure. The *nāzīr* supervised the agency for collecting revenue; the *waqūf*, who was added later, controlled the expenditure. The *barīd-i-mumālīk* was in charge of the royal post and news agency. The *qādi-i-mumālīk* was the chief justice; he was responsible for the enforcement of the *shar'*; in addition he was usually the *ṣadr-u's-ṣudūr*, and as such he controlled the department of religious affairs, pious foundations and education. The *amīr-i-dād* enforced the decisions of the judges and brought culprits before the *qādis*; he presided over the *mazālim* court in the absence of the sultan. The *kotwāl* was the head of the police. The *muhtasib*

¹ The *nā'ib-u'l-mulk* was also called *mahk nā'ib*.

was the censor of public morals; he stopped flagrant breaches of decency or law, prevented actions tantamount to a public nuisance, and controlled prices and markets. The *muhtasib*, the *kotwāl* and the *amīr-i-dād* worked in close co-operation.

The provincial government was a replica of the central government. The governor represented the sultan and was the head of his administration. The various departments at the centre were duplicated in the provinces. Normally the provincial departments were controlled from the capital but distant or difficult provinces practically ran themselves. The unit of administration was the village with its headman and accountant; villages were grouped into *parganahs* and the latter into *shiqqs*. The *shiqqs* and some small provinces came to be known as *sarkārs* towards the end of the period. A marked feature of the period were the Hindu tributary rulers; the smaller Hindu chiefs were employed in various capacities by the sultan.¹ Most of the local administration was left in the hands of the Hindus; the state adapted the existing machinery to the new requirements. Peace was maintained by garrisoning strategic centres, planting colonies of Muslim warriors, developing and enforcing local responsibility, and by improving communications. The local administration of the larger towns was based on the model of the capital; village communities functioned in accordance with their old traditions.

Lack of space forbids a full discussion of the bibliography on which the following pages are based; a fuller list appears in an appendix. The main authorities group themselves under the following heads:—

For the Ghaznavids, a knowledge of whose institutions is essential, there are two main sources; Primary authorities. the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* by 'Utbī is not so rich in administrative details and anecdotes as Abū-'l-Faḍl Baihaqī's *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī* which is only a fragment of his

¹ Vide Chapters VI and X for details.

greater work, the *Tārīkh-i-āl-i-Sabuktigīn*, now unfortunately lost. Baihaqī was a member of the *dīwān-i-mshā* under Mas'ūd and had opportunities of personal contact with the sultan; he was acquainted with most of the state secrets. He writes in a gossiping style and gives the reader a rare insight into court life as well as into the working of the central government. 'Al-Kardīzī's *Zain-u'l-akhbār* is a brief and dry chronicle. For the earlier period of the sultanate (587-614 A.H. ; 1191-1217 A.C.). Ḥasan Nizāmī's *Tāj-u'l-ma'āthir* is the primary authority. The author has a most tedious and flowery style, but his facts are correct and sometimes he records matters of administrative interest. The *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh* is valuable as a contemporary record, though the author was not the famous poet Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh Marw-a'r-rūdī as Sir Denison Ross calls him, but Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh *alias* Fakhr-i-Mudabbir who usually resided at Lāhor and Dehlī and was attached to the court.¹ This book deals with Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak only. Minhāj-u'd-dīn bin Sirāj-u'd-dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* is a compendium of Muslim history; but he discusses the main facts of the reigns of various sultans of Dehlī in greater detail. He brings his history down to 658 A.H. (1261 A.C.) when Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd was the reigning monarch. Minhāj was, for some time, the chief *qādī* of the realm, but unfortunately he was not interested in administration. His sketches of the leading nobles are, however, useful, for he indicates the various stages in their careers; many of them had started as ordinary household slaves, so it is possible to visualize the various offices and posts they held as they progressed. The story is then taken up by Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn Baranī, whose *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* carries it to the first six years of Firūz Shāh's reign. Baranī was a retired official and understood the administration; he has recorded the main developments which took place in his time. His chronology is unreliable; his likes and dislikes are too strong; his arrangement is

¹ *Islamic Culture*, October 1938, pp. 397-405.

faulty; but he was faithful in recording administrative reforms. The first part of his history is based on the result of his diligent enquiries from eye-witnesses; during the later period he was an eye-witness himself. Shams-i-Sirāj Afif, another official, wrote a history of Firūz Shāh's reign and called his book by the same title, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*. He is fond of jingling, rhyming prose and many of his observations are platitudes. Yet his chronicle is extensive and, being confined to one reign, gives many administrative details. Firūz Shāh's own composition, the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, originally inscribed on a tower of the sultan's chief mosque, but later preserved in manuscript, records the administrative achievements of the monarch. Then there is the anonymous *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* of which a unique manuscript exists in Bankipore Public Library. This book contains a brief history of the sultan's reign as far as the expedition into Gujrāt; it deals adequately with the character, reforms and building activities of Firūz Shāh. It also throws welcome light on the relations of the sultanate with the House of 'Abbās. The *Sīrat* was written in 772 A.H. and claims to have been dictated by the sultan himself.¹ The details of Timūr's invasion are found in the two *Zafar-nāmahs*, one by Nizām-u'd-dīn Shāmī and the other by Sharf-u'd-dīn Yazdī who mainly follows Shāmī, as well as in Shihāb-u'd-dīn Aḥmad's *ʿAjā'ib-u'l-maqdūr fī akhbārāt-i-Timūr*. The period of the anarchy and the rule of the earlier Sayyids are described in Yahyā bin Aḥmad a's-Sahrindī's *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* which, however, begins with the reign of Muḥammad bin Sām and finishes in 838 A.H. (1434 A.C.). There is no contemporary chronicle of the Afghān dynasties, and one has to rely on books written under Akbar or even Jahāngir.

¹ The colophon says :

طریق سلاطین و آداب شاہی	باملاء شاه جهان شد کتابت
.....
که اتمام این شد بفضل الهی	ز تاریخ هفتاد و دو بود و مقصد

gives a good insight into the political and social conditions under Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh. Amīr Khusraw's exceedingly tedious exercise in rhetoric, the *Ijāz-i-Khusrawī* throws important sidelights on the administration, for the model epistles addressed to officials refer to their functions. The *Maṭla'-u'l-anwār* and *Afḍal-u'l-fawā'id* are useful to students of social history, for they portray contemporary manners and customs. The prefaces to the collections of his lyrical odes are also valuable for the same reason. The other writings have little historical significance. Amīr Ḥasan 'Alā Sajzī's *Fawā'id-u'l-fawā'id* like Khusraw's *Afḍal-u'l-fawā'id* contains the table-talk of the saint Niẓām-u'd-dīn. The odes of Ḥasan, who was Khusraw's contemporary, and the *qaṣā'id* of Badr-i-Chāch who flourished under Muḥammad bin Tughluq refer to political events and their chronograms are particularly valuable. Of great interest is 'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥ-u's-salāṭīn* which is a chronicle of medieval India in verse; it is important in so far as it voices the feelings of the malcontents against Muḥammad bin Tughluq and justifies the rise of the Bahmanī kingdom. It also implements our knowledge regarding certain other events.¹ Great importance has been attached by some recent writers to the Muḥammad bin Tughluq fragment consisting of four pages attached to a manuscript of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Add. 25785 in the British Museum) since it has been claimed as a part of the sultan's autobiography.¹ The work is too concise in style to be an autobiography; no contemporary or later authority mentions the existence of such a document. A careful perusal will convince the reader that it is in fact part of a Persian version of the sultan's application to the Egyptian caliph for recognition. The *Basāṭīn-u'l-uns* was composed in the beginning of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign and contains some historical matter. Of great importance is the *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, being a collection of letters by 'Ain-u'l-mulk, one of

¹ *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 251; K. M. Ashraf, p. 350, no. 123.

Firūz Shāh's ministers. As they mostly deal with administrative affairs, they give a good insight into the working of the machinery of the government. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Dehlawī's *Risālah dar taṣānif-i-khud* contains a brief outline of literary history. Of great social and cultural value are the poems and books by Hindu reformers, also Malik Muḥammad Jāisi's *Padmāvat* and *Akhrāvat*.

(The best known of all the travellers who visited India during this period is Ibn Baṭṭūṭah who reached Sind in 734 A.H. (1333 A.C.) and lived in the sultanate for nine years. His *Tuḥfat-u'n-nuẓẓār fi ḡharā'ib-i'l-amṣār* gives a fascinating picture of the court, the social life and the government of the sultanate, though his history is based on hearsay and not very reliable. Besides, he kept no notes, and the work was composed years after in the traveller's native land. As the narrative of an eye-witness, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's account bears the marks of authenticity.) Then there are the accounts of various travellers and Indian Muslims living abroad which have been collected in Qalqaṣhāndī's *Ṣubḥ-u'l-a-ṣhā fi ṣinā'at-i'l-inshā*, as well as in Ibn Faḍl-u'llah al-'Umarī's *Masālik-u'l-abṣār fi mumālik-i'l-amṣār*. The accounts relate to Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign. (The Turkish admiral Sidī 'Alī Ra'is came immediately after the close of the period; he was at Dehli when Humāyūn died. Among travellers, who came to India but whose accounts do not deal directly with the sultanate, are Marco Polo (thirteenth century), Ma Huan, the Muslim secretary of a Chinese naval mission, Nicolo Conti, 'Abd-u'r-Razzāq, the famous author of *Maṭla'-u's-sa'dain* and Shāh Rukh's envoy to Vijayanagar, Athanasius Nikitin, Santo Stefano (fifteenth century), Varthema and Barbosa (sixteenth century).)

Too much importance cannot be attached to the treatises

Books on law and politics.

on politics, statecraft and law. The hold of the *shar'*, the Islamic law, on the Muslim mind was profound, and the

rulers took care to follow its tenets in public affairs. Even the slightest disregard led to unpopularity. Suggestions that some rulers ignored the *shar'* should be treated with great caution; Baranī was exceedingly strict in his notions of legal propriety and the slightest lapse on the part of the monarch condemned the ruler in the historian's eyes. The structure of the government and the functions of the officials were essentially based on legal sanctions; besides, the *shar'* had come to embrace a great deal of Abbasid tradition which was deeply ingrained in the administrative notions of the sultanate. Aspiring politicians and administrators studied, as an essential part of their training, the treatises on politics and the art of government. Besides, the large number of foreigners who continued to be engaged for government service kept up the Muslim tradition of administration in the sultanate. The political and legal writings of the period, therefore, form a necessary background to the history of the administration. In this respect one can transgress the limits of time and space on account of the universality of Muslim legal and political theory, though much discretion is necessary in distinguishing between the universal and abiding on the one hand and the particular and incidental on the other. A good rule is to rely mainly on the authorities recognized either universally or in India during or before our period; though one should be permitted to use information regarding an institution which is known not to have undergone a change even if that material is contained in a work written after the end of the sultanate. To take the law books first, there are the famous *Hudāyah* and *Wiqāyah* with their various commentaries. Greater interest, however, attaches to the *Fiqh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, a legal compendium compiled by Ya'qūb Kirāmī and enlarged and revised under Firūz Shāh's patronage, which embodies the orthodox legal view on various problems, some of administrative importance. Another book on Muslim law compiled during the period is the *Majmū'-i-Khānī* dedicated to Bahrām Khān who has now

been identified with Muḥammad bin Tughluq's tutor, Qutluḡ Khān. This work is not important, for it is really a compilation made from previous well-known books. In the sphere of statecraft, the most important works are the *Ādāb-u'l-mulūk wa kifāyat-u'l-mamlūk* and *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*. The first book is by Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh alias Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, the author of one of the histories discussed above. This work, which is also called *Ādāb-u'l-ḥarb wa'sh-shujā'ah*, was presented to Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish; it describes in great detail a number of political, administrative and military institutions. As a contemporary picture of government, its value is considerable. Although other authors mention it, an extensive use of the book has been made for the first time in this treatise. The *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī* is by the historian Baranī who, as internal evidence shows, wrote it under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. It reveals Baranī's ideals and notions of government with clarity besides throwing light on several institutions. The *Tadhkirat-u'l-khulafā fī tawṣiyat-i'l-mulūk wa'l-umarā* is anonymous and without date but it was written in India and mentions 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī and Baranī among others. Of the writers outside India, the most important is Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Baghdādī al-Māwardī, generally known as Imām Māwardī, who in his main work *Al-aḥkām-u's-sulṭāniyah* gives a detailed picture of the administration as he found it during the last days of the Abbasids. As he was writing from the jurist's point of view, his book had a profound influence on the subsequent development of Muslim polity. Ghazzālī wrote as a political philosopher and mystic; it was through him that Greek political ideas gained popularity in Muslim countries. Though a *wazīr* under the Saljūqs, Abū 'Alī Ḥasan ibn 'Alī Tūsī Nizām-u'l-mulk was long regarded in Muslim lands as a master statesman and his *Siyāsat-nāmah* was the bible of Muslim administrators. So great was his influence that even the spurious *Naṣā'iḥ* enjoyed popularity; it should, however, be admitted that it is useful in throwing

light on the spirit of the government in those days. 'Unşur-u'l-Ma'ālī's *Qābus-nāmāh* was also studied with respect by nobles and princes. Ibn Khaldūn's famous Prolegomena, Jurjī Zaydān's *A't-tamaddun-u'l-Islāmī* and Von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orients* give an excellent insight into the origins of Muslim institutions and their working. For the Hindu antecedents, there are the famous *nīti-shāstras* besides the invaluable *Arthashāstra* by Kautilya.

Coins and inscriptions are as useful to the writer on administration as they are to the political historian. Edward Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* will remain a classic; H. Nelson Wright's *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sulṭāns of Dehli* brings the numismatic information up to date. Some useful information is also available in *The Coins of the Kings of Ghazna* by Thomas. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's *Āthār-u's-ṣanādīd*, the reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and the catalogue of the Archæological Museum of Dehli have also been used.

A large number of modern works on the various aspects of the subject of this treatise have been consulted; but most of these deal with subsidiary topics only. Of the works dealing directly with the period, the most useful from the author's point of view was W. H. Moreland's *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, which leaves little to be desired in erudition and criticism; where this book differs from the views expressed by Moreland, it is in the spirit of further examination of the question in the light of extended information. Unfortunately, Moreland deals with only one of the many topics under examination; for the rest there was little in modern works to guide the writer. The *Cambridge History of India*, Volume III, is mainly a chronicle; Dr. Ishwari Prasad's *History of Medieval India* is too much of a text-book and his views hardly bear the

test of impartial criticism ; Lane-Poole's *Medieval India* is charming to read, but now out of date. Of recent works there is Dr. R. P. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, a history of the monarchy and *wizārat* ; its chapters on the agrarian system were written before Moreland's book was published. Dr. Ishwari Prasad has also written *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India* of which the first volume only has been published. A much better work is Āghā Mahdī Husain's *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* which deals with the same subject ; for he has used a larger number of sources and his views are more balanced. The author discusses the administration, but he relies only on the contemporary authorities and specially on Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, whereas it is necessary to take a more extended view even to understand the working of institutions in a single reign. His thesis on *Le Gouvernement du Sultanat de Dehli* is sketchy and mainly reproduces Ibn Baṭṭūṭah. Kanwar Muḥammad Ashraf has published his thesis on *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1200-1550 A.D.)* ; he has excluded, as he himself states, "all references to the civil administration, the system of land revenue, the army, the system of transport, the ideas on education, and the development of literature, or even to the religious life of the people."¹ Even in the realms he has explored, it would be difficult to agree with all his opinions and conclusions. The various English and French translations of Persian and Arabic authorities have been used with great caution ; it is necessary to rely on the original texts in unravelling the technicalities of administration. Most of the translations, in any case, need editing. However, of a different nature is Professor Hodivala's learned commentary on Elliot and Dowson, which has unravelled many a knotty problem of Indo-Muslim History.²

• ¹ Pp. 108-109.

² This book was not officially published when I wrote this treatise. However, I was able to consult an advance copy through the courtesy of my supervisor, Dr. R. B. Whitehead, when I was finally revising the manuscript of this book for the first edition.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGAL SOVEREIGN

MUḤAMMAD welded into a polity the disorganized and warring Arabs by inculcating among them the necessity of unity.) They were enjoined "to hold fast by the covenant of Allah" and to form a compact brotherhood.¹ (This teaching was to play a great part in the history of Islam, for its logical consequence was the theory of an indivisible Muslim world.) The death of the Prophet was a crucial test of the solidarity of Islam. The community had to choose a new head.) The Qur'ān was silent beyond saying that Muslims should settle their affairs by mutual consultation.² The Prophet had abstained from nominating a successor or laying down any rules. Sectarian traditions to the contrary may be dismissed as later fabrications in face of the historical evidence that they were not advanced at the time of election. Nothing, however, could be more natural than what actually happened. The leaders met in their usual assembly house and chose one who, by his piety and eminence, seemed to be the natural leader. The most significant fact in the election is that the separatist tendency of the Anṣār who proposed that there should be two *imāms*, one for the Quraish and the other for themselves, was ruled out, because that would have divided Islam. (The decision of the leaders, whose choice fell on Abū Bakr, was communicated to the people who confirmed it by giving allegiance.) The importance of this election in Islamic history cannot be over-emphasized. It provided the later jurists with a precedent on which they could base their

¹ *Holy Qur'ān*, III, 102. ² *Ibid.*, XLII, 38.

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theories of succession not only to the caliphate, but also to kingship. The immediate significance, however, did not lie in the method of the election (the person elected was to exercise a deeper influence on the subsequent history of the Muslim world.) Certain Bedouin tribes refused to pay *zakāt*. They did not forsake their belief in Islam; in refusing to pay the legal taxes they were only trying to revert to tribal anarchy; they wanted to break away from the central authority. This endeavour was considered an act of apostasy by the caliph who, in spite of the critical nature of the situation, decided to wage a *jihād* against the rebels to bring them back to their allegiance. He thus re-emphasized the principle of the indivisibility of Islam.

(The head of the Muslims was the caliph. His functions as laid down by the jurists indicate his place in the Islamic polity. (He is the defender and maintainer of the Faith, the protector of the territory of Islam, the supreme judge of the state, and the chief organizer and administrator of the commonwealth.¹ He is the successor to the Prophet as head of the community, commander of the Faithful, leader and ruler of all Muslims. His authority is limited by the existence of a divine law which he cannot supersede, but he is its final interpreter, and it is his duty to enforce it.² The caliph was not a priest, but the Abbasids assiduously exploited the idea of being the vicegerents of the Prophet until they achieved a sacerdotal character and became the centre of unwarranted superstition.³ The existence of a rival caliphate in the West with parallel claims deprived them of much of the Muslim world. The hidden propaganda which they had employed against the Umayyads had now turned against them with a much better developed technique. The claims of the rival house of the Fatimids considerably weakened the Abbasid authority,

¹ *Al-aḥkāṁ-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 3, 16; Arnold: *The Caliphate*, p. 72.

• ² Arnold: *The Caliphate*, pp. 31-34, 72; *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, ff. 15b, 16a.

³ Hulagū hesitated to kill Musta'sim, for he was told that the world would come to an end if the caliph were executed.

and the rise of powerful chiefs and rulers proved disastrous to their political power. All these factors made it more necessary for the House of Baghdād to make themselves as sacrosanct as Muslim opinion would tolerate.

In the eastern lands of Islam the legal position of the Abbasids was unquestioned. It almost became an article of orthodox belief to recognize their supremacy, for the Fatimids identified themselves with the Shī'ahs. No orthodox Muslim could think of owing allegiance to the Fatimids without abjuring his sect. The Sunnī jurists could not help exaggerating the claims of the Abbasid caliphs in fighting the vigorous propaganda of the Bāṭinīs. Writers like Ibn Khaldūn emphasized the religious aspect of the caliphate by rejecting the idea of its rational necessity and basing it entirely on the shar'.¹ So great was the prestige of the Abbasid caliphs that a powerful ruler like the Buwayhid 'Aḍud-u'd-dawlah, made a pretence of complete submission and reverence before the puppet caliph Ṭā'ī whose name he used to maintain his own authority. That 'Aḍud-u'd-dawlah being a Shī'ah could not believe in Ṭā'ī's legal sovereignty is obvious.² Maḥmūd of Ghaznah could threaten the caliph, but he also sought recognition from him.³ Even the mighty Saljūqs, who ruled the largest empire of their day, could not ignore the caliph's legal position. In short no monarchy considered itself legally established without recognition by the Commander of the Faithful. Nizāmī-i-'Arūḍī has put the legal position well when he explains that a monarch is a lieutenant of the caliph to administer the outlying parts of the commonwealth which cannot be easily governed by one authority from the centre. Just as the Prophet is the vicegerent of God and the caliph the vicegerent of the Prophet, the monarch is the vicegerent of the caliph.⁴ Thus it would

¹ Proleg., pp. 165-166.

² Jurjī Zaydān : *Umayyads and Abbasids*, Eng. tr., p. 258.

³ *Utbi*, pp. 214-216.

⁴ Arnold : *The Caliphate*, pp. 73, 74 quoting *Chahār Maqālāh*.

appear that no area where the caliph was recognized could be legally independent. Even the rulers of states on whom he was politically dependent were legally subordinate to him. *De jure* he was the sovereign, no one could rule without his consent. Writing as late as the middle of the fifteenth century Khalīl bin Shāhīn a'z-Zāhirī says about the caliph that no king of the east or the west can hold the title of sultan unless there be a covenant between him and the *khalifah*.¹

The Muslim jurists had a remarkably practical outlook ; whenever they saw an anomaly, they tried, Monarchs. to remove it. In order to bring law into accordance with practice, they juggled with the interpretation of the word 'governor'. Māwardī, living in an age when the caliph's power was in decay, recognizes three kinds of governors. The first are the governors with limited powers, the second those with unlimited powers and the third *de facto* independent rulers and monarchs—men who carve out their own dominions—whom he styles 'governors by usurpation'.² It would be difficult, even impossible, to depose these last. Obviously it was practical politics to recognize them, and thus to regularize what was clearly rebellion. This method had the advantage of maintaining appearances, of respecting the feelings of the legalists and utilizing capable men in the interests of Islam by not driving them to extremes. It was, on the other hand, too compromising a method to make the unity of Dār-u'l-Islām a political reality. It was a cloak which only imperfectly covered the nakedness of the caliph's weakness. It, however, kept alive the idea of the unity of Islam.

(The first part of India to come under the sway of Islam was Sind which was conquered in the days of a strong caliphate by the caliph's army acting under the orders of his governor, Ḥajjāj. Of greater importance, from the point of view of Indian history, was the Ghaznāvids.

¹ Quoted by Arnold in *The Caliphate*, pp. 101, 102.

² *Al-aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, p. 32.

occupation of the major portion of the Panjāb by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah who was legally a lieutenant of the caliph.¹ Thus the Panjāb became a part of the Eastern Caliphate. Maḥmūd's son, Mas'ūd, was also recognized by the Abbasids.² Baihaqī has preserved the form of the written oath of allegiance which the sultan had to sign.³ It would be difficult to imagine a more solemn oath; it fully brings out the legal subordination of the sultan as a vassal of the caliph. The rest of the Ghaznavids frankly recognized their vassalage.⁴ Thus the tradition of allegiance to the Abbasids was firmly rooted in the Panjāb when Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām conquered it. The caliph is mentioned on the coins struck in his name as joint king of Ghūr with his brother Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn as well as on the pieces struck by him as a full-fledged monarch after the death of his brother in 599 A.H. (1202 A.C.)⁵ Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn had been the recipient of robes of honour on several occasions from al-Mustaḍī-bi-amr-i'llah and a'n-Nāṣir-li-dīn-i'llah; the sultan is styled 'Helper of the Commander of the Faithful' by Minhāj-i-Sirāj.⁶

Religious belief and tradition, therefore, made allegiance to the caliphate a foregone conclusion when the sultanate of Dehlī was founded by Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak who assumed the royal dignity on 18th Dhu'l-Qa'dah 602 A.H.⁷ He received his insignia from Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd, the nephew of his late lord and master, Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām, it is true, and not from the caliph, (but there seems to have grown up a theory that what the caliph did not forbid, he permitted, for instances of rulers owning allegiance to the caliph and not receiving explicit recognition from him are too numerous to justify any other legal theory.) It was certainly better to receive a diploma of investiture, but the jurists do not seem to have considered it essential. It should not be considered, however, that the suzerainty of the Abbasids remained unquestioned.

¹ C.H.I., iii, p. 26.

² Baihaqī, p. 50.

³ Vide Appendix A.

⁴ On Coins of Ghazna, pp. 78-108.

⁵ Thomas, pp. 12-14, 29.

⁶ Minhāj, pp. 76, 125.

⁷ Ibid., p. 140.

Multān had long been a centre of Karmathian dissenters from whose possession Muḥammad bin Sām took the city in 571 A.H. (1175 A.C.).¹ But the sect did not die, and one of their secret agents martyred the sultan at Damīk in 602 A.H. (1205 A.C.).² On 6th Rajab, 734 A.H. (1337 A.C.), a thousand fully armed members of the sect entered the Jāmi' Masjid at Dehlī and began to slaughter the worshippers. It was only when some soldiers were rushed to the spot that the insurrection was quelled.³ We read of Fīrūz Shāh taking action against these dissenters.⁴ The vast majority of the Muslims in India and all the sultans of Dehlī were, however, orthodox and mainly supporters of the Abbasids.⁵ Most of the Muslim conquerors came to India from lands of orthodoxy.

The first sultan of Dehlī to receive explicit recognition was Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish. The name of a'n-Nāṣir-li-dīn-i'llah had appeared on his coins as early as 622 A.H. (1225 A.C.), or even earlier.⁶ On Monday, the 22nd Rabi'-u'l-awwal, 626 A.H. (1229 A.C.), the emissaries of the caliph Abū Ja'far Maṣṣūr al-Mustaṣṣir-bi'llah reached Dehlī. It was a day of rejoicing, for the newly established empire was receiving formal recognition from the Commander of the Faithful. The city was decorated and the emissaries were given a befitting reception. In sending robes for the sultan the caliph had not forgotten his sons and nobles, and even the slaves were remembered.⁷ Al-Mustaṣṣir's name now replaced a'ẓ-Zāhir's on the coinage and was, for the first time, mentioned in Hindī on the humble billon currency so that the poorest might come to know who was their legal overlord.⁸ They were to learn that their land was a part of Dār-u'l-Islām and their mighty ruler was only one of the many who owned allegiance to the caliph. Mustaṣṣir's

¹ Minhāj, p. 116.

² Ibid., p. 124.

³ Ibid., pp. 189-190; Zubdat-u't-tawārīkh, f. 13a.

⁴ Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhi, p. 7.

⁵ Dawalrānī Khidr Khān, p. 47; Masālik-u'l-abṣār, p. 27.

⁶ N. Wright, p. 18.

⁷ Minhāj, p. 174; E. and D., ii. p. 243.

⁸ Thomas, pp. 49-52; N. Wright, pp. 18-21, 26.

name was removed from the new dies of the mint by 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh in 641 A.H. (1243 A.C.) when the news of the caliph's death reached Dehlī, and the name of his unfortunate successor, Musta'sim, was inscribed instead.¹ It is curious, however, that Mustanşir's name appears on a few coins of Nāşir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd's reign; these were probably old dies in distant mints.²

Musta'sim was removed by Hulāgū Khān in the most barbarous manner in 656 A.H. (1258 A.C.)³ Musta'sim's death. His execution raised a problem of peculiar difficulty for the sultans of Dehlī. Musta'sim had left no heir; the greater part of the lands of the Eastern Caliphate was in the hands of the Mongols who were threatening what was left. Both Egypt and India were in danger. The lands of the Moorish caliphs of the West were not affected, but they were too far away and the orthodox in the east regarded the inhabitants of the Western Caliphate as living in schism. Dār-u'l-Islām, as known to Indian jurists, was left prostrate and without a head. The sultans of Dehlī met this difficulty by the simple device of continuing Musta'sim's name on their coins long after his death. Probably this pious fiction was also perpetrated in the *khutbah*. The view that they were ignorant of the great cataclysm is untenable, for it is well known that Dehlī gave shelter to a large number of refugees from adjoining countries including some members of the House of 'Abbās.⁴ It is also impossible to believe that Sa'dī's great elegy did not reach the enlightened court of Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban or that of his son, Muḥammad Khān, who was a great admirer of Sa'dī and corresponded with him.⁵ More conclusive evidence is provided by the fact that

¹ Thomas, p. 122, N. Wright, p. 47.

² N. Wright, 219 A., 225 E.

³ History of Saracens, p. 398.

⁴ Thomas, pp. 254, 255; Baranī, p. 111; *Firishtah*, i, p. 131. A few members of the House of 'Abbās were among the refugees.

⁵ Baranī, p. 68. The elegy begins with

آسمان را حق بود گر خون ببارد بر زمین
بر زوال ملک مستعصم امیر المومنین

the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, written in the reign of Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd, not only records the catastrophe, but also gives a full description of it.¹ Musta'ṣim's name remained on the Dehlī coinage till the end of the reign of Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz Khaljī in 695 A. H. (1296 A. C.).² Thus Musta'ṣim's name continued on the coins of Dehlī for about forty years after his death. The high officials must have felt that the fiction could not be maintained any longer. They had probably pressed their point of view earlier but the pious and aged monarch, Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz, in his own sentimental way, had refused to remove the martyr's name; it was, however, removed at the death of the old sultan, and the boy king Rukn-u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm was merely styled *nāṣir-i-amīr-u'l-mu'minīn*.³

'Alā-u'd-dīn followed Rukn-u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm's example. He preserved the title assumed by his cousin and added to it *yamīn-u'l-khilāfat*—the right hand of the caliphate.⁴ Both these titles would show that he did not aspire to the caliphate himself. But Ḥasan and Amīr Khusrav gave him the title of caliph.⁵ The latter, in the following passage, definitely says that 'Alā-u'd-dīn proclaimed himself caliph: "He once again raised, in accordance with the principles of justice, through the insignia of his own caliphate, the Abbasid standards which had broken into little fragments by the fall of heavy calamities."⁶ This statement as well as the references in

¹ Minhāj, pp. 430-433.

² Thomas, p. 145.

³ Ibid., p. 155; N. Wright, p. 87.

⁴ These titles appear on the coins throughout his reign; vide Thomas, p. 168; N. Wright, pp. 88-91. His inscription on the arches in the Qubbat-u'l-Islām mosque at Dehlī also has the same titles. Thomas, p. 173; Āthār-u'ṣ-ṣanādīd, plates, 42-45.

⁵ *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥasan Sajzī*, e.g., pp. 416, 417, 425, 470, 531, 548, etc.

(p. 531) سر همسه خلیفائے اُمم محمد شاه

• خدا یگان فلک چتر آفتاب نگی

⁶ *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, pp. 6, 7. Khusrav always refers to this sultan as the caliph.

the poems could be dismissed as mere rhapsodies of court poets but for the fact that the *Khazā'in-u'l-futūh* is meant to be a book of sober history and *Khusraw* is a conscientious recorder of historical events. Besides, he uses the word 'caliph' only for two rulers among all his royal patrons: one of them is 'Alā-u'd-dīn and the other Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh.¹ Militating against this evidence is the fact that *Hasan* uses the title of *yamīn-i-khilāfat* as well; but probably the poems into which the lower title is incorporated are earlier in date.² The numismatic and epigraphic evidence does not support *Khusraw's* statement. Why should 'Alā-u'd-dīn assume the office if he did not consider it worthwhile to proclaim the assumption through his coins and inscriptions? The only explanation that suggests itself is that there had probably grown up a party at the court which favoured the assumption of the title of caliph by the sultan. They could make out a very strong case for this step. The Abbasid dynasty had fallen; the pretender in Egypt commanded neither power nor respect; while the Indian Empire was the strongest bulwark of Islam in the area which formerly owned allegiance to the House of 'Abbās; the Indian sultan's court was the asylum of all who had fled away from the persecution and terrorism of the barbarian. What if Balban had strongly advised his son Bughrā Khān to seek recognition from the Abbasids?³ He had probably entertained some hope of their revival; circumstances, however, had worked out in a different manner; in any case, Balban's wish could not bind his successors. It is doubtful if Dehlī even

¹ *Life and Works of Amīr Khusraw*, p. 124.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Hasan Sajzī*, e.g., p. 488

توئی یمن خلافت، حسن دعا گویت
که اعتضاد ممالک هم از یمن تو باد

Hasan explains the title *Yamīn-u'l-khilāfat* in a couplet (p. 560)

توئی در خلافت بحق دستیاب یمن الخلافت ازین شد خطاب
This gives an entirely different significance to the title.

³ *Baranī*, p. 103.

knew that the Abbasid caliphate had been revived in Egypt.¹ It is also significant that the plotters against Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī had intended to instal Sayyidī Maulā as the caliph.² He was a descendant of the Prophet; his reputation for piety and miraculous sanctity would have gained considerable support. Even the mild and good-natured Jalāl-u'd-dīn realized the magnitude of the danger and executed the main plotters as well as their candidate.³ It could, therefore, be argued that the absence of a caliph was not only canonically undesirable but also politically dangerous. In spite of these arguments the sultan did not formally assume the title, for there were practical as well as canonical difficulties. The Khaljīs were not Quraish, nor could they claim to be the rulers of the central regions of Dār-u'l-Islām. 'Alā-u'd-dīn could not be certain of success in meddling with religious affairs; he, therefore, hesitated in assuming the title formally, but did not stop his courtiers and poets from calling him caliph. Thus Ḥasan and Khusraw introduced the title into their writings; possibly 'Alā-u'd-dīn was wise enough to foresee that their writings were more enduring than his own coins and buildings. Besides, he could always disclaim any responsibility for the effusions of his court poets. 'Alā-u'd-dīn, however, struck some pieces from a mint called Dār-u'l-Islām.⁴ It has been suggested that a college of that name in old Dehlī was given the right of

¹ Muḥammad bin Tughluq gathered information about the Abbasids in Egypt only after "persistent inquiries". *Baranī*, pp. 491-492.

² *Ibid.*, p. 210. C.H.I. (e.g., iii, p. 94) transcribes this name as Sīdī Maulā. 'Iṣāmī says on p. 209:—

شب و روز در کعبه بودے مقیم باوقات حالات خود مستقیم
در آن وقت آن مرد را خاص و عام بخواندند سیدی موله بنام

The last line can scan only when the name is pronounced as Sayyidī Maulā or Sīdī-i-Maulā. It seems improbable that the populace should pronounce the *idāfat* or that the *idāfat* should be used with the popular 'Sīdī'.

³ *Baranī*, pp. 208-212. 'Iṣāmī gives a slightly different version

⁴ E.g., *Thomas*, p. 171.



minting these coins; it, however, seems strange that the most jealously guarded prerogative of striking currency should be given away to an educational institution. It seems more likely that the capital was called Dār-u'l-Islām, implying that it was the centre of the Muslim empire, the seat of its supreme ruler. If this view is correct, it adds force to the evidence contained in the writings of Amīr Khusraw and Hasan.¹

(What one of the greatest sultans hesitated to do openly, his son, Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh, A Dehlī caliph. carried out without any tremor. He proclaimed to his subjects and the world that he was 'the great *imām*, the *khālīfah* of the Sustainer of the two worlds, the sultan, son of a sultan, al-Wāthiq-bi'llah, Commander of the Faithful, the Pole Star of the Faith and the world, Abū-l-Muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh.' From 717 A.H. (1317 A.C.) this legend appears on his coinage.² Before that year he was content, like his illustrious father, to style himself 'the right hand of the caliphate, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful.'³ Khusraw's works are in agreement with the numismatic evidence; there are numerous references to the sultan as caliph.⁴ It would be interesting to know whether the sultan's assumption of the supreme title was popular among his subjects. Either because it was unpopular, or because his own position was weak, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Khusraw was content with the less lofty title of 'the Friend of the Commander of the Faithful.'⁵ His supplanter, Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn

¹ I.B., ii, p. 16 uses the word 'Dār-u'l-*khulāfah*' for Sīrī; this is a further confirmation of the evidence.

² Thomas, pp. 179-182; N. Wright, pp. 96-102.

³ Thomas, p. 180; N. Wright, p. 97, no. 371.

⁴ *Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 139; *Nuh Sipihr*, f. 677b; *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī* has the following which is a paraphrase of the passage quoted from *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ* regarding 'Alā-u'd-dīn:—

خليفة زمان..... قطب الدنيا والدين..... ناصب الولاية العباسية
بيمن خلافة-

⁵ *ولى امير المؤمنين* Thomas, p. 186; N. Wright, pp. 103-104.

Tughluq reverted to the old title of *nāṣir-i-amīr-u'l-mu'minin*.¹)

A controversy still raged in the learned circles of the capital about the legal position of the sultan.² Just as it was found unsatisfactory to preserve Musta'sim's name on the coins and in the *khutbah*, the jurists in India must have disliked the fiction that the sultan was a 'helper' or a 'friend' of an unknown and apparently non-existent caliph. The realists regained the upper hand; the idea of a legally independent sultanate appealed to Muḥammad bin Tughluq, a strong man of independent views. His earlier coins discard references to a caliph; he defended himself from a possible charge of heresy in two ways. He inscribed the Muslim formula of faith, verses from the Qur'ān and pious sayings on his coins; he also introduced the names of the first four caliphs on some pieces.³ It is possible that some one had quoted the saying of the Prophet that "the *khilāfat* would last for thirty years after him; it would then be converted into an empire."⁴ The first thirty years of the caliphate were the days of the Republic when the four rightly-guided caliphs had ruled. The insertion of their names would be a reminder to the people that the caliphate was no more; also, if a sultan had to own allegiance to any one, it should be to the rightful caliphs of the Republic. Still the controversy went on. Ultimately Qutluḡ Khān, the sultan's teacher, convinced the monarch that no monarchy could be lawful without a recognition from the *khaliḡah*; the sultan's failures were due to the fact that he was not a lawful ruler as he had not obtained recognition from the caliph.⁵ Muḥammad bin Tughluq had probably more mundane reasons as well for accepting the suggestion. His harshness had alienated his subjects; his experiments had proved disastrous. A

¹ Thomas, pp. 189, 190, N. Wright, pp. 111-113.

² Muḥammad bin Tughluq Fragment, f. 317a.

³ Thomas, pp. 213-216, 249-253. ⁴ *Kanz-u'l-'ummā* iii, 3153.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-alfī*, f. 99b; Muḥammad bin Tughluq Fragment, f. 317.

spectacular recognition of his rule by the caliph would impress a considerable section of his people and bring them back to obedience. He must have heard rumours of the re-establishment of the Abbasid caliphate in Egypt. He now made diligent inquiries to discover the details.¹ This must have happened not long before the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.C.), as that is the earliest date of the *khālifah* coins.² The sultan must soon have discovered that as early as 659 A.H. (1261 A.C.) an Abbasid refugee in Egypt had been elevated to the dignity of caliph. The reigning caliph was al-Mustakfī-bi'llah whose name appears on the coins of Dehlī as late as 745 A.H. (1344 A.C.).³ Qutlugh Khān's party had won the day, for the sultan began to believe firmly that any monarch who reigned without an express decree from the Abbasid caliph was an usurper.⁴ He also took the extreme view that organized social or religious life was not lawful without the caliph's consent, and, therefore, ordered that congregational prayers on Fridays and the two 'Īds be kept in abeyance.⁵ The sultan and his nobles took the oath of allegiance to the caliph and emissaries were sent with an application for recognition.⁶ In 745 A.H. (1344 A.C.) Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī arrived from Egypt bearing from the caliph al-Mustakfī-bi'llah letters patent, a standard and robes for the sultan, who received them with the utmost respect.⁷

¹ Baranī, pp. 491, 492.

² N. Wright, p. 123.

³ N. Wright, pp. 122, 123; Dehlī mint, 744 A.H.; Daulatābād mint, 745 A.H.

⁴ Muḥammad bin Tughluq Fragment, f. 316; Baranī, p. 491.

⁵ Muḥammad bin Tughluq Fragment, f. 317b; Baranī, p. 492.

⁶ I.B. ii, p. 43. The *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, (p. 267) says that the sultan sent the application in 744 A.H., but before the application could reach the caliph, he had heard of the sultan's desire. Hence the caliph sent Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī with letters patent. The emissaries reached Dehlī before the sultan's messengers could return.

⁷ *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 268. Baranī (p. 492) gives 744 A.H. as the date of Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī's arrival, but Baranī is notoriously inexact in his chronology. The *Sirat* also mentions the names of Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī's companions.

The city was decorated and there were general rejoicings. The Friday and 'Īd prayers were now restored, and when the caliph's name was recited in the *khutbah* for the first time, trayfuls of gold and silver were distributed to the poor. Orders were issued that henceforth only the caliph's name would be used in *ṭarāz* and inscriptions on public buildings. The sultan allowed the names of only those monarchs to be mentioned in the *khutbah* who had been the recipients of formal recognition from the Abbasid caliphs.¹ All the nobles and men and women of note had to take the oath of allegiance to the caliph.² Soon after, Hājī Khalaf arrived from Cairo bringing confirmation of the former letters patent. By the time Hājī Rajab Burqa'i, the sultan's messenger reached Cairo, al-Mustakfi-bi'llah had died, and al-Hākim II had succeeded to the caliphate. He sent fresh letters patent and robes. This honour was repeated several times.³ Every time the sultan received these with great humility and respect and sent large presents in return. "But for the danger of pirates and thieves on the route," says Baranī, "he would have sent all the treasures in Dehli to Egypt."⁴ Qutluḡ Khān's supporters were jubilant. Badr-i-Chāch, the court poet, sings of the triuṃph of 'the leaders of the sacred law' in unmistakable terms.⁵ His poems also reflect the sultan's feelings. The poet, whose profession it was to compose panegyrics for his master, showers praise on the caliphs and calls Muḥammad bin Tughluq their obedient slave and

¹ Baranī, pp. 492-493. It would be interesting to have a full list of them. Historians mention only *Īltutmish*; Baranī would not have used the plural for one monarch only.

² Baranī, pp. 494-495.

³ *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 268.

⁴ Baranī, p. 493.

⁵ *Qaṣā'id-i-Badr-i-Chāch*, p. 15.

ملک را بازو قوی شد، دین سرافرازی نمود
 شرع را حرمت فزون شد، رونق ایمان رسید
 کیشی داران ضلالت را هوا دین گرفت
 پیشوایان شریعت را حیات جان رسید

servant whose glory it was to be faithful to the House of 'Abbās.¹ Evidently this was the form of panegyric most palatable to the sultan.²

Firuz Shāh proudly records his belief in the necessity of obtaining recognition from the Abbasid caliphs as well as the fact that he received letters patent granting him "absolute authority and the lieutenancy of the caliphate" with the title of 'the chief of the sultans'.³ Firūz received the emissaries with great humility and prostrated himself in the direction of the caliph's capital when he received the standards and robes for himself, the heir-apparent and the prime minister.⁴ He sent appropriate presents in return to the caliph.⁵ This auspicious event, in Baranī's opinion, was the cause of the peace and prosperity of the sultan's reign and of the loyalty of his people.⁶ Firūz did not go to the extreme of excluding from the *khutbah* the names of the sultans who had not received a similar recognition in the past and gave orders that they should once again be mentioned.⁷ His coins bear the names of Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad and Abū-l-Faṭḥ al-Mu'taṣid-bi'llah,

¹ *Qaṣā'id-i-Badr-i-Chāch*, e.g., pp. 17, 20, 39.

امام حق که شد او را محمد تغلق
بدل غلام و بتن چاکر و بیجان مولا

² I.B., (ii, p. 44) mentions how 'Abd-ul-'Azīz was rewarded for praising the House of 'Abbās. The same authority (ii, pp. 45-49) mentions how Amīr Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn, a descendant of the caliph al-Mustanshir-bi'llah was honoured at Dehlī. The amīr was little better than a noble beggar.

³ *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 23.

The *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī* (p. 269) says that Firūz Shāh received the letters patent in 754 A.H. from al-Mu'taṣid-bi'llah who conferred on the sultan the titles of *Saif-u'l-khilāfah* (the sword of the caliphate) and *Qasim-i-amir-u'l-mu'mmin* (the co-parcener of the Commander of the Faithful). There is a formal deed of allegiance preserved in *Inshā-i-Māhrū* (Letter XII) which was probably drawn up when Firūz Shāh received the letters patent.

⁴ *Afif*, pp. 274, 275.

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 598.

⁶ *Baranī*, pp. 598, 599; also, *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 270.

⁷ *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 5.

both sons of al-Mustakfi-bi'llah, also of al-Mutawakkil-'ala-'llah Abū 'Abd-u'llah Muḥammad.¹ It was during Firūz Shāh's reign that the newly founded Bahmaṇi kingdom also received recognition from Cairo, and an intimation of this recognition was sent to Firūz.² The later rulers of this dynasty paid a general homage to the last two of the above mentioned *khālifahs*. Sometimes just the title 'Lieutenant of the Commander of the Faithful' appears on their coins.³

When the cloud-burst of Tīmūr's invasion had passed away, the Sayyid, Khidr Khān, established a new dynasty; but he did not assume the royal title and was content to call himself a lieutenant of the conqueror. Later, he was given permission by Shāh Rukh to include his own name in the *khutbah*.⁴ Hitherto only Shāh Rukh's name had been mentioned; he himself had drafted the *khutbah* which was to be read from the pulpits of Dehlī.⁵ Khidr Khān's son Mubārak Shāh and his successors called themselves *nā'ib-i-amīr-u'l-mu'minīn* on their money; they also used the legend: "In the age of the *imām*, the Commander of the Faithful, may his caliphate endure!" or some slight variation of it.⁶ The same tradition was continued by the Lodīs.⁷ This conventional form of paying homage to the caliph seems to have been adopted by the sultans to save themselves the trouble and expense of asking for letters patent by

¹ Thomas, pp. 274-277, 298; N. Wright, pp. 172-174.

² Firishṭah, i, p. 263; C.H. I. iii, p. 376. This, however, is doubtful. The *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhi* (p. 269) says that al-Mutawakkil-'ala-'llah sent letters patent in 764 A.H. recognizing Firūz Shāh as the sultan of all India including the Deccan. In 766 A.H. the caliph communicated to the sultan that he, his father or his grandfather had given recognition only to the sultans of Dehlī and to no one else amongst the other rulers of India. (*Ibid.*)

³ Thomas, pp. 274-277, 298; N. Wright, pp. 172-174.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-alfi*, f. 259a (819 A.H.).

⁵ Arnold: *The Caliphate*, pp. 113, 114.

⁶ Thomas, pp. 330-340; N. Wright, pp. 231-238.

⁷ Thomas, pp. 358-377; N. Wright, pp. 243-256.

sending emissaries to distant Cairo ; in fact their homage was purely nominal. Besides, the 'Uthmānli Turks put the Abbasid caliphate to an end in 1517 A.C. ; henceforth the sultan of Turkey claimed to be the caliph. This was also the year of Ibrāhīm Lodī's accession ; his own affairs kept him so engrossed that he could not take much interest in the affairs of the caliphate.

The Mongols had, however, already, dealt a mortal blow to the caliphate. A school had grown up among Muslim thinkers which did not believe in the caliphate, though these men were neither Shī'ahs who believed in the Fatimid succession nor extreme Khārijīs. Some reference has already been made to the believers in the idea of an independent sultanate and their influence at Dehlī. At other courts similar thinkers proved more influential. The Muslim descendants of the victorious Mongols were not slow to take advantage of the new theory, and the tradition that each emperor was also the caliph for his own territories had become firmly established in the House of Tīmūr when Bābur conquered Dehlī. Hence, under the Timurid emperors of India the concept that the empire was a part of an indivisible Muslim world not only grew weaker, but in time died out completely. The Sūrs who maintained a number of older traditions did refer on some coins of smaller value to ' the commander, the supporter of the abiding Faith ' or even to ' the just khālīfah of the age ' ; but there is no record of a real revival of faith in the necessity of recognition from any caliph.¹ Ibrāhīm Shāh Sūr is the only exception ; he even read the khutbah in the name of ' the khālīfah of Baghdād ' !² The restoration of Humāyūn finally put the idea of a suzerain caliph to an end ; the emperor was probably amused when Sīdī 'Alī Ra'is told him that no king could rule without his master's permission.³ In the course of time the word khulāfat lost its original meaning in India ; Sujān Rāi uses it for the sultāns of Dehlī

¹ Vide Appendix B.

² *Mushṭaqī*, i. 77b.

³ *Travels of a Turkish Admiral*, p. 53.

indiscriminately and the author of the *Rājāwalī* for Hindu *rājahs* like Yudhishtira and Vikramāditya.¹ This curious alteration in the significance of the word was the result of a fundamental change; the monarch was no longer the representative of the supreme sovereign of the Muslim world, but an independent ruler of one of its parts. Even legal quibbles could not keep an institution alive which had been reduced to mockery by its political weakness; no legal concept of sovereignty can survive if it comes into conflict with the reality of power. The fact that it did live so long shows how deep was the attachment of Muslim peoples to their sacred law.

• ¹ *Rājāwalī*, e.g., ff. 5a, 16a.

Even Khusrāw has used '*khilāfat*' loosely for 'dominion', *Qirān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 115.

CHAPTER III

THE ACTUAL SOVEREIGN

THE sultanate of Dehlī, though legally a part of the Eastern Caliphate for a considerable part of its history, was always an independent state for all practical purposes. Even

An independent state.

Khidr Khān's acknowledgment of Tīmūr's supremacy was merely apparent and formal. To understand the nature of this state, it will be useful if we examine contemporary political thought and ideology embodied in the writings of Muslim thinkers and jurists. It will also be worth while to discover how far these ideas conformed to Hindu notions, for any similarity between them would provide the psychological common ground without which the sultanate could not endure in the midst of an overwhelmingly Hindu population.

(Many Eastern writers on politics imagine a 'state of nature' before the organization of society into a state; according to the *Mahābhārata*, passions and greed brought about anarchy and licence, so that the gods had to intervene and appoint a ruler.¹) The dread of anarchy also appears in the writings of *Manu*.² In spite of the prevalent myths of a golden age, most Hindu and Muslim philosophers did not believe, as Rousseau did, in the existence of a free and happy society prior to the organization of the state. The nearest approach to Rousseau's idea is found in a passage by *Ghazzālī* where he speaks of the cities of the world living in a state of heavenly bliss before they were reduced to unwilling obedience and bondage by tyrants and wicked monarchs, but here he is hardly thinking

¹ *Mahābhārata*, *Sāntī parva*, section 59.

² E.g., *Manu*, vii, 3; also compare writings of *Moh-ti* (420 B.C.).

of a pre-political society.¹ Like Hobbes, Hooker and Spinoza, most Hindu thinkers consider it impossible for a man to be happy in a state of anarchy. (The Muslim thinkers are in entire agreement with this view, though a hypothetical state of nature generally does not find favour with them. They have a more rational theory, and consider the tendency to anarchy an inherent defect in human nature, a destructive weakness of the human race.) On the one hand they believe with Aristotle that man is a social animal, and they deduce from this that he instinctively builds institutions; on the other, they recognize that he is always ready to break the bonds of organized life whenever he finds the opportunity.² Too logical an analysis of human nature has always resulted in contradictions.) One example is Rousseau's attempt 'to explain the problem of freedom and bondage, in doing which he not only fails but completely side-tracks the issue. Burke, and, later, the idealists quibbled with the words 'freedom' and 'restraint' and even then produced a paradox. The Muslim philosophers recognized the difficulty but overcame it by adopting the idea of 'the golden mean' and then applying this concept in rather an ingenious manner to social philosophy.

(The contradiction, says the Muslim philosopher, arises from the fact that both the tendencies in man—social as well as anarchic—are the outcome of his selfishness. His desire to build institutions is due to his dependence on his kindred for their co-operation and help, without which he cannot live a happy life. At the same time he seeks his own advantage at the cost of his neighbours. Thus, there arises a conflict between the interests of the individual and of the society; but it is possible to bring about a reconciliation between the two by applying the doctrine of 'the golden mean' and creating a sense of proportion. With the best of intentions,

The need of an arbitrator.

•¹ *Sulūk-u's-salṭānah*, f. 37a.

² *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 20a; *Sulūk-u's-salṭānah*, f. 36b; *Dhakhīrat-u'l-mulūk*, f. 38a.

however, there will always be a difference of opinion regarding an equitable adjustment of hostile interests; hence, it is necessary to have an arbitrator to decide what is just and fair.¹ It is imperative to preserve society by obeying a just arbitrator, for man can attain his fuller growth only in organized society.² The best arbitrator is *shar'*, the Muslim Law, which lays down the mean and brings about proportion in life. Thus the solution of the dilemma in human nature lies in the observation of the Law, which is "the author of justice"; it is the only agency which can ensure human happiness and safeguard mankind from destruction.³)

Shar', the real
sovereign.

(This view is merely the philosophic rationalization of Muslim belief in this respect. A man can attain real felicity in following the dictates of Islam, the exoteric incorporation of which is the Law. (The Muslim jurists and theologians believe in the supremacy of the *shar'* and hold that it is eternal and immutable in its essence. It is based on the Qur'ān which is believed by every Muslim to be the Word of God revealed to His prophet Muḥammad. Not even the Prophet could change the revelation; he could only explain and interpret it. His interpretation, embodied in his traditions, called *ḥadīth*, naturally commands great respect and cannot be ignored by his followers. On these two rocks—the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*—is built the structure of Muslim Law, annotated, expanded, interpreted, and applied to the complicated and varied needs of a growing civilization by learned lawyers. This Law was the actual sovereign in Muslim lands: no one was above it, and all were ruled by it.⁴ It is not only permitted but enjoined that a Muslim should disobey the ruler if the ruler's orders violate the Law.⁵ Public opinion in Muslim lands firmly held to the supremacy of the *shar'*.

¹ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 20a.

² *Sulūk-u's-saltānah*, f. 9a.

³ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 20a.

⁴ *Khudā Bukhsh: Essays, Indian and Islamic*, p. 51.

⁵ *Tadhkirat-u'l-khulafā fī tauḥīyat-i'l-mulūk*, f. 12, quoting a tradition of the Prophet.

Neither the Law nor its interpreters and jurists belonged exclusively to any one country; they belonged to the entire world of Islam and their influence was felt everywhere. There are no local variations of the Muslim Law.

Law is powerless unless it is enforced by some agency. The ideal statesman for this purpose was the divinely-guided Prophet; but later generations have to be content with a man of lesser wisdom.¹ Such a man, some believe, is chosen by God in every age to look after the well-being of the people.² This concept is the nearest approach to the idea of divine right in Muslim philosophy, and was in favour with courtiers and ministers; but the jurists, whose outlook is more Islamic, are of opinion that it is the duty of the Faithful to elect and appoint their ruler.³ It is this injunction of the *shar'* which makes the state a canonical necessity. The ruler appointed and accepted by the Muslims was the caliph, who alone was the chief executive officer and supreme judge in the world of Islam. His legal representative in India was the sultan, to whom were delegated, in the area under his control, all the powers wielded by the caliph.⁴ Legally the caliph had the right to overrule the sultan in decisions which had yet not taken effect, but in actual practice the sultan in India was so powerful and at such a distance that it could never have been practical politics for the caliph to meddle with his affairs. Besides, the establishment of the sultanate in India coincided with the decay of the power of the Abbasids, who, for some time past, had preserved the shadow of legal supremacy by never failing to recognize the *fait accompli* and by ceasing to meddle with the internal affairs of their vassals. Thus the supreme human agency in the empire of Dehli for enforcing and interpreting the Law was the sultan.

¹ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, ff. 20a, b.

² *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 5; *Inshā'-i-Māhrū*, Letter I.

³ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 14b.

⁴ *Proleg.*, pp. 204-205.

(The jurists theoretically recognized the right of the ruler to act as the supreme interpreter of the Law, but in actual practice he could not go against the recognized interpretation, for it was not open to him to disregard *ijmā'* or a preponderant concurrence of opinion on any point.¹) Only where the jurists disagreed, was he free to take an independent line of action; but for this purpose he must be a learned jurist himself, for how could he, otherwise, understand the subtleties in which the lawyers delighted? He generally abided by the decisions of the majority.² This restriction, however, did not apply to his right of making all civil and political regulations for public welfare.³ Of course, he was not allowed to contravene the *shar'* in legislating on these occasions. This subservience of the ruler to the Law was in accordance with Hindu notions as well.⁴ The supremacy of the *shar'* has misled some into thinking that the sultanate was a theocracy.⁵ The essential feature of a theocracy—the rule of an ordained priesthood—is, however, missing in the organization of the Muslim state; the jurists are all laymen who claim no sacerdotal immunity from error. Gibb is right in calling the Islamic polity *theo-centric*.⁶

(The sovereignty of the Law was, by no means, a legal fiction. The sultans of Dehlī, on the whole, showed a remarkable respect for the *shar'* in their public dealings.⁷) There are few glaring violations on record, while there are numerous instances of mighty sultans humbling themselves before the majesty of the Law. Even in cases of tyranny, the semblance of legality was generally observed. Muḥammad bin Tughluq

Actual hold of *shar'*
on Dehlī sultans.

¹ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 19b; also, *Akhḫāq-i-Jalālī*, p. 55; *Iḥyā-u'l-'ulūm*, i, p. 7.

² *Inshā'-i-Māhrū*, Letter XIX.

³ This was considered a part of executive power; *Akhḫāq-i-Jalālī*, p. 55.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, Sāntī parva, section 59.

⁵ E.g., *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 2.

⁶ *Whither Islam*, p. 26.

⁷ E.g., *Tāj*, ff. 147a, 181b, etc.

had his victims executed only when he had overwhelmed the jurists, who were asked to give the legal ruling, with his relentless and superior logic.¹ Even then there were instances of courageous protests, which ultimately inflamed public opinion and cost him the stability of his empire. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī is accused of transgressing the shar' in public affairs; but this accusation should be treated with great caution. As mentioned before, Baranī was exceedingly strict in his notions of legal propriety, and the slightest lapse on the part of the monarch condemned the ruler in the eyes of the historian. Besides, Baranī was hostile to 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī, because some of his measures had resulted in hardship to the official class to which Baranī belonged. Khusraw and Hasan give an entirely different impression of this sultan.²

Great importance is attached by several scholars to 'Alā-u'd-dīn's conversation with Qādī Mughīth.³ An analysis of what the sultan has been alleged to have said will show that there was no difference of opinion between the qādī and his royal patron on the question of the necessity of following the shar'. The sultan protested that in certain respects expediency had led him in the same direction as the law; in certain other matters he had enforced the shar' as an act of devotion. The fundamental difference arose on the questions of punishments, 'Alā-u'd-dīn's appropriation of the booty he had won in the Deccan campaign before he came to the throne, and the extent of the sultan's private

¹ *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, pp. 115-116.

² E.g., *Diwālrānī Khudr Khān*, p. 146; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 7. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's progeny was extinct when Khusraw wrote:

خصوصاً کنز علام الدین محمد کی بود از وے علام دین احمد

Tughluq-nāmah, p. 60. The references in Hasan are too numerous to be quoted, e.g., *Kulliyāt-i-Hasan Sajzī*, pp. 2, 412, 417, 460, 463, 467, etc. 'Iṣāmī also pays a high tribute to the sultan's love of Islam, pp. 293, 294.

³ *Baranī*, pp. 293-297. *Baranī* is the only contemporary authority to record this conversation. He could not have been present at the interview. It would, therefore, be wrong to assume that the sultan has been reported verbatim.

expenditure. The sultan attributed his harshness in enforcing orders to the unnecessary contumacy of his people, nor can it be said⁶ justifiably that the *shar'* is at all partial to those who disobey their legitimate rulers and obstruct them in running the administration, particularly when the lands of Islam have to be defended against odds. There could be room for difference of opinion on the question of the treasures which the monarch had brought from Deogīr as a prince, for the expedition was undertaken neither at the instance of the sultan, Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz, nor with the resources of the state. 'Alā-u'd-dīn argued that he had won this booty by his personal endeavour unaided by the state, and, therefore, was entitled to its possession.

(Qāḍī Mughīth was a little too exacting on the question of the sultan's personal expenditure. He laid before the sultan the ideal of the early caliphs who preferred to live a life of poverty rather than burden the public treasury with heavy expenditure.) That ideal had long vanished and was found only in text-books of maxims; very few jurists have laid any great stress on the limitation of the royal expenditure, realizing well that the grandeur of the monarch's court was a public institution of great value. Nor could 'Alā-u'd-dīn be justly accused of extravagance, for he is reported to have been one of the most careful monarchs in the matter of economy. "Qāḍī Mughīth! Though I have no learning and have hardly read a book," protested the sultan, "yet I am a Muslim and a descendant of generations of Muslims." The sultan then explained that he was ignorant of the law, but his severity was mostly directed against evil-doers in the best traditions of religion.

This would hardly justify the view that Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-dīn ignored the law; indeed even in his great need he did not exceed the legal limit of one-half of the produce in fixing the state demand, and his economic measures were but an efficient administration of the Muslim institution of *hisbah*. His grandiose scheme of founding a new religion was still-

born and was known only to his select companions. He protested, later, his adherence to Islam, though he might have transgressed minor injunctions in ignorance.¹ • Indeed we are assured of his complete reformation by later chroniclers.² Baranī also tells us of his great faith in the saint Nizām-u'd-dīn.³ Maulānā Shams-u'd-dīn Turk, a learned jurist and a foreigner, who wrote an outspoken letter to the monarch and took care to leave the sultanate before it could be delivered, found only two faults with the sultan: that he was not regular in his devotions and that he had appointed an incompetent and worthless man as his chief *qāḍī*.⁴

Yet, it should be remembered that Muḥammad bin Tughluq and 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī are the two most independent and strong-willed sultans who sat on the throne of Dehli.

(Ghazzālī) thinks of the state as a living organism and compares it to the human body. In working out the details of the analogy, he (calls the sultan the heart of the system.⁵ His existence is the primary necessity of social life) for without a ruler to guide the affairs of mankind, all order would vanish and the very existence of the human race would be endangered.⁶ It is he whose sword cleanses the world of anarchy as well as of evil.⁷ Very great is his responsibility, for he will be questioned on the Day of Judgment regarding the condition of his people and about all acts of justice and injustice committed by him. Great, too, is the reward awaiting the just monarch, for he will find a place under the banner of the Prophet on the Day of Reckoning.⁸ Later writers, in spite of the protests of the jurists, insisted that the righteous

¹ Baranī, p. 295. Baranī is the only contemporary authority to mention that it was 'Alā-u'd-dīn's desire to found a new religion.

² *Firīshṭah*, i, p. 192. ³ Baranī, pp. 331, 332. ⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 297-299.

⁵ *Kimīyā-i-sa'ādāt*, p. 8.

⁶ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 20b; *Akhlaq-i-Nāsiri*, p. 359.

⁷ *Sulūk-u's-saltānah*, f. 36b. ⁸ A.M., f. 3b.

monarch was 'the Vicegerent of God' and 'His Shadow on the Earth.'¹ A monarch should make it possible for every man to attain the fullest perfection of which he is capable, otherwise his government is an engine of oppression.² Dominion can lead a man to sublime heights or abysmal depths.³ The Hindus had even more exaggerated notions about the greatness of kings. A monarch is the centre of the state, the ruler, protector and benefactor of the people.⁴ Royalty is superhuman energy embodied in a human institution.⁵ Even though the king be a child, a monarch should not be despised, for he is a powerful divinity in human form.⁶

Thus the Muslim and Hindu traditions were unanimous in according the sultan great respect and prestige. The authority he enjoyed added to the glory of his position. The Muslim jurists assign the following functions to the sultans:—

- (i) to protect the Faith, as defined by *ijmā'*;
- (ii) to settle disputes between his subjects;
- (iii) to defend the territories of Islam, and to keep the highways and roads safe for travellers;
- (iv) to maintain and enforce the criminal code;
- (v) to strengthen the frontiers of Muslim territory against possible aggression;
- (vi) to wage a holy war against those who act in hostility to Islam;
- (vii) to collect the rates and taxes;

¹ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 17a.; *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, p. 134; *Qurān-u's-sa'dain*, p. 25; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, pp. 8, 54, 79, etc. Ḥasan (Kulliyāt-i-Ḥasan Sajzī, p. 573) says about 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khajī*:

جهان مضبوط تیغش طول با عرض هو السلطان ظل الله فی الارض

Also, compare Fīrūz *Shāh*'s letters patent appointing Faṭḥ *Khān* as the governor of Sind, *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter I.

² *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, p. 135.

³ *Naṣā'ih Shāh Rukh*, f. 12a.

⁴ *Arthashastra*, p. 378; *Shukranāṭi*, i, 39-40.

⁵ *Political Institutions of the Hindus*, p. 179.

⁶ *Manū*, vii, 8.

- (viii) to apportion the shares of those who deserve an allowance from the public treasury ;
- (ix) to appoint officers to help him in his public and legal duties ; and
- (x) to keep in touch with public affairs and the condition of the people by personal contact.¹

The learned jurist, Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Abd abb, puts it very well when he says : " The sultan controls affairs, maintains rights, enforces the criminal code ; he is the Pole Star round whom revolve the affairs of the world and the Faith ; he is the protection of God in his realm ; his shadow extends its canopy over His servants, for he forbids the forbidden, helps the oppressed, uproots the oppressor and gives security to the timid."²

Limitations. The concentration of authority in the hands of one man has led unwary writers into painting the sultans of Dehli as the paragons of despotism. According to these authors, their power knew no limits ; but, in actual practice, absolute authority has existed only in the dream of the despot or the imagination of the fool. All political power has certain limitations and depends for its very existence on the co-operation of strong elements in the state. This elementary principle was as much at work in Dehli as elsewhere, though the limitations might not be the same.

Personal law. It has already been noticed that the sultan had very little legislative power. He could not interfere with the personal and religious law of his subjects, for both the Muslims and the Hindus had their systems of law with which they would not brook any interference even at the cost of their lives. The sultans realized their helplessness in this respect ; some of them disliked certain Hindu customs but considered it impolitic to meddle with

¹ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 19a ; *Nuh Sıphır*, ff. 726a, b ; *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, ff. 7-8.

² *Nihāyat-u'l-arab*, p. 5.

them.¹ Nor could they flout the *shar'* with immunity. They could rely on the support and loyalty of the Faithful only so long as they ruled in accordance with the Law; for though the Muslims are enjoined to obey their rulers and co-operate with them in lawful projects and activities, it is a mortal sin to do so if the monarch does anything unlawful or un-Islamic.² In such cases a believer's duty is to rebel, and the sultans well knew the consequences of a successful rebellion. Nāṣir-u'd-dīn *Khusraw*, for instance, lost his throne, because his henchmen disgusted Muslim opinion by behaving arrogantly towards Islam.³ Though not within our period, Akbar's experience illustrates this point. His heterodoxy fed the flames of a widespread rebellion in the east and resulted in an invasion by his brother from the north-west. For a moment the very foundations of the empire were shaken, and Akbar overcame the danger partly by an ostentatious display of orthodoxy for the time being, and partly with the help of his Rājput and Persian supporters. The rebellion would have succeeded under better leadership. Even then, Jahāngir had to reverse his father's policy and come to terms with orthodoxy. The Hindus also believed in the right to rebel against an unjust monarch.⁴

Nor should the mentality of the sultans themselves be ignored. To-day people do not realize the hold of religion on the medieval mind. Most of these monarchs believed in the Law they were called upon to defend; some certainly approached their duties in a spirit of devotion and worship.⁵ The desire to earn the commendation of one's fellows, also, must have played its

¹ E.g., Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz *Khaljī's* lament regarding his helplessness in changing the outlook of the Hindus, *Baranī*, pp. 216-217.

² *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 16b; *Nihāyat-u'l-arab*, p. 5; *Tadhkirat-u'l-khulafā fī tawṣiyat-i'l-mulūk*, f. 6; *Holy Qur'ān*, v. 2; *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 28.

³ *Baranī*, p. 411.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, *Sāntī parva*, lxxviii, 41-43.

⁵ E.g., Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz *Khaljī*; Firūz *Shah*. Also, vide, *Hamīd Khān's* remark to Buhlūl Lodī, *Dā'udī*, f. 6b. Also, vide *Tāj*, ff. 10a, 181b, 195a, 196a, etc., for Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, and f. 235 for *İltutmish*.

part. These psychological forces would prove more potent in curbing irresponsibility than any visible and outside restriction.

The sovereignty of a single man is a legal myth. No man can impose his will upon a large population without considerable support, which assumes two forms. A small group of influential men give him active support by putting their energies, capabilities and even lives at his disposal. The greater portion of the populace give their passive support by obeying orders and paying taxes. The Dehli sultan had to rely on the active support of the nobles who, for one reason or another, were willing to make common cause with him.¹ The monarch had also to ensure the co-operation of a fairly large number of 'ulamā, the learned theologians and lawyers, on account of their influence with the Muslim populace.² Then there were the many public servants in various branches of the administration who put their experience and technical knowledge at the service of the state. Nor could the ruler forget the cultivators of the soil, the Hindu peasants and their representatives—the village headmen, the local chiefs and tribal heads.³ The ultimate force of the state consisted of the Muslim fighters who shed their blood for the glory of the sultan. No monarch has alienated any of these elements with impunity or succeeded in his projects without their support. The hostility of the people seldom proved fruitless.⁴ The limitations of royal

¹ Vide Fakhr-u'd-dīn Kotwāl's advice to Nizām-u'd-dīn who aspired to usurping the throne, *Baranī*, pp. 136-138; also, Bughrā Khān's advice to Kaiqubād, *Baranī*, p. 151.

² So great was this influence that monarchs were often jealous. For Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's influence vide *Baranī*, pp. 341-346. Inshā'-i-Māhrū has an interesting letter (XXIII) addressed to a leading theologian to exercise his influence with a tribe to pay the state demand. Ghazzālī says in *Ihyā-ul-'ulūm*:

الملوك يحكم على الناس والعلماء يحكم على الملوك

³ A.M., f. 33b.

⁴ E.g., Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Khusrāw, who recognized the importance of the hostility of the people (*Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 47); Aḥmad Ayāz, who was

power were recognized by contemporary writers. In discussing the reasons for Muḥammad bin Tughluq's difficulties and failures, Baranī twice says that his executions had created widespread disaffection.¹ 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's measures succeeded because he had a very good technical staff at his disposal who efficiently co-operated with him.² Muḥammad bin Tughluq's excessive demands drove the peasantry of the Doāb into rebellion and the result was almost complete loss of revenue.³ Actually there is no sanction for unbridled tyranny except the timidity of the people, and the Indian populace during the Middle Ages was by no means timid or forbearing; on the other hand, the people were mostly warlike, refractory and rebellious. Besides, those were the days of dense forests and limited means of communication; and the difference between an army and armed rabble was proverbially very little.

No feudal lord in Europe exercised a greater check on royal power than the nobles in India.⁴ The Muslim state had to exist in the midst of an alien population which was only gradually reconciled to its sway. Its doors were battered by Mongol hordes who reached the very walls of the capital. In the midst of these difficulties the sultan could not offend the powerful nobles without grave consequences, specially when some of them were heads of clans and thus had a permanent following. It was not easy to impose the royal will on them, for they considered themselves the peers of the monarch and quite capable of founding royal dynasties themselves.⁵ Their relationship to the throne varied according to the character and capabilities of the monarch. If the wise Buhlūl could at need humble

virtually a monarch; Muḥammad bin Tughluq. The populace of Dehlī rebelled against Rukn-u'd-dīn and put Rāḍiyah on the throne, *Minhāj*, p. 184.

¹ Baranī, pp. 500, 522.

² *Idem*, pp. 288-289.

³ Baranī, p. 473.

⁴ The importance of the nobles was widely recognized, e.g., *Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 46.

⁵ A. M., f. 34b.

himself before the nobles by putting his turban at their feet; the inexperienced Ibrāhīm lost his throne by alienating them. The only ideal that held the nobles together was the service of Islam.¹ They knew that the sultanate was the last stronghold of Islam during the domination of the heathen Mongols over the lands of the Eastern Caliphate. It was realized that 'a faith without a state is futile and a state without a faith is without any guidance'.² They also felt that a nation which is ruled by others is like a dead body.³ These feelings knit the lords into a body which obeyed the king so long as they felt that he was performing his duty; but they did not hesitate to revolt against him if he proved incapable of defending these ends. It must be admitted, however, that the nobles were only too often swayed by motives of self-interest.

This brings us to the legal aspect of the question of the dethronement of a monarch; but its discussion requires an understanding of the *Shar'* on election.

The election of Abū Bakr as caliph after the death of the Prophet provided the jurists with a precedent on which they could base their theories of succession to sovereignty. Two main points emerge from it. The elders did not even discuss the question of relationship to the Prophet, thus proving that considerations of legitimacy did not claim their attention. They also established "the principle of free election by the assembled community and its confirmation by general homage."⁴ This idea became firmly grounded in the minds of Muslim lawyers. The other method was that the reigning caliph nominated his successor, but this nomination was to be confirmed by general election and homage.⁵ The nomination was but a recommendation to the electors which might or might not be respected. A number of caliphs adopted the

¹ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 6b; also, *vide* sentiments of nobles fighting against Nāṣir u'd-dīn *Khusrāw*, *ʿIṣāmī*, pp. 367, 368.

² *ʿAḥlāq-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 408.

³ *Vide* *ʿIṣā Khān's* remark to *Shēr Shāh*, *Sarwānī*, f. 47b.

⁴ *V.K.*, p. 9.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 266-267.

device of obtaining general homage for their nominee in their lifetime.¹ But throughout the history of the Caliphate, political thinkers and jurists maintained that the office was elective. The same ideas underlie the rules regarding the election of a sultan.² The legal aspects of the election have been worked out by the doctors of law with their wonted thoroughness and logic. The majority are of opinion that a monarch elected by the most influential men in the capital is entitled to the allegiance of the people, but they are not unanimous regarding the qualifications of these electors.³ The failure to work out a satisfactory method of general election resulted in mere logical quibbles about the minimum number of electors, thus reducing the election to a mere formality.

Generally the form of an election was maintained by the sultans of Dehlī. The nobles and the learned and most influential theologians at the capital agreed upon a candidate and proclaimed him the sultan. Then a formal oath of allegiance was sworn by them and, later, by the populace.⁴ Of course this was often an election only in name because the candidate had already decided the issue by conquest in battle or by overwhelming force; but it had the advantage of being legal and conforming to the wishes of the jurists and the people. It should not be forgotten that another force was at work; most of the sultans were Turks and, in spite of their zeal for Islam, Turkish and tribal ideas still influenced their minds. The nobles did not always take hereditary rights into consideration, for not many sultans were succeeded by their sons; but they did try to limit their choice to the ruling house. The changes in the dynasties seem to have been fortunate, which proves that

¹ V. K. pp. 266-267.

² *Sulūk-u'l mulūk*, f. 14b.

³ V. K., p. 264.

⁴ *Minhāj* mentions the elections of Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahram Shāh (p. 191), 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh (p. 198), and Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd (p. 208); *Isāmī* mentions those of Kiūmarth (p. 199), Shihāb-u'd-dīn 'Umar (p. 341) and Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh (p. 345). The *Tughluq-nāmah* mentions Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq's election (pp. 135-143). I. B. (ii, p. 21) describes the election of Ilutmiṣh.

they were not made without reasons of state. Even when a successful warrior like Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz Khaljī raised himself to the throne, the outward form of election was maintained.¹ The Turks did not like the coming of the Khaljis to power, and the sultan was not popular with the populace. It seems, therefore, that a large number of people did not take the oath of allegiance for some time ; but the more important elements soon began to co-operate. Actually there was a legal loophole which the sultan could have utilized. The later jurists had recognized ' election by force or usurpation ' which created a sanction for seizing power by force ; that it was not employed shows the strong sense of political decency among the ruling class.

The right to dethrone a sovereign is the logical corollary of an elective monarchy. Though some jurists hold that an election is so holy and binding that the electors could be released from their vows only by the sovereign himself, the majority of lawyers believe that the monarch could be deposed if he failed to carry out his trust. Injustice is considered to be a sufficient cause for dethronement. All writers agree that a man suffering from mental or physical infirmity cannot continue to be a sovereign. Great importance is attached to loss of power of judgment and eyesight.² The fact that a number of Delhi sultans, mostly incompetent, were removed from the throne shows that the monarch was not considered too sacrosanct to be touched if he proved himself useless to the state. Of course there were intrigues and rebellions against some capable rulers as well, but they generally did not gain much support.

The jurists have carefully laid down the qualifications of an aspirant to monarchy. He should be capable of dealing with the problems of the state and in full possession of his

Legal qualifications
of candidates for
the throne.

¹ Baranī, p. 173.

² V. K., pp. 248, 264, 267, 268. The custom of blinding a claimant to the throne to make his accession impossible is of Byzantine origin and crept into the Muslim world as late as the 4th century A.H., Mez., p. 372.

physical and mental faculties. If he had lost his eyesight, hearing or power of speech, he could not ascend the throne.¹ Some writers also add that he should belong to the male sex and be of adult age.² These two qualifications were not always demanded at Dehlī. It is true that Raḍīyah's election caused a controversy; she was not able to command the obedience of all the nobles, yet she was elected and ruled for four years with the co-operation of a large number of generals and statesmen. There were not many instances of young boys coming to the throne; the few who were raised were mere puppets in the hands of some successful intriguer, but generally the usual formalities of accession were observed.

The absence of a hereditary principle of succession had its usual drawbacks, but it was responsible for the fact that quite a number of brilliant men can be counted among the sultans of Dehlī. It was by no means easy to occupy the throne of a state placed in such difficult circumstances. Fools and mere pleasure-seekers could not be tolerated for long, because the sultanate required all the care and work that a man could give it. The rough and ready methods of selecting the sultan worked well and proved successful in finding the right man at the right time.

Conclusion.

¹ *Aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 4, 5.

² V.K., p. 264.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

A CONSCIENTIOUS sultan was one of the hardest worked men in the realm; for instance Sher Shāh The ceremonial, spent about ten hours every day with only short breaks for meals and prayers in discharging his public duties.¹ This does not include the time taken up in deliberation and consultation with the more trusted officials and ministers. A life spent in the limelight of splendour and magnificence in full view of the people must have been exceedingly exacting; it is not surprising that weaker natures sought solace in pleasure-seeking and merry-making; even the sterner monarchs turned for relaxation to hunting, music and poetry. The ceremonial *darbārs* and processions, the endless banquets and celebrations, which were kept up even when the royal household was on the march, were political institutions of utilitarian value, for they captured the imagination of the people and impressed them with the majesty of their rulers to the extent that even to-day the might and grandeur of kings are favourite themes of Indian folklore. So great was the awe which this pomp inspired that ambassadors and tributaries were known to faint when ushered into the august presence of the sultan.² The contemporary historians give excellent descriptions of these functions; the accounts of the eye-witness, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, are specially interesting.³ All these narrations leave an impression of great

¹ *Sarwānī*, ff. 66-69; *Mushtāqī*, ff. 48a-49b.

² *Baranī*, pp. 30-32.

³ *Minhāḥ*, pp. 316-319; *Baranī*, pp. 30-33; *‘Afīf*, pp. 280-287 I.B., ii, pp. 53-39; *Masālik-u’l-abṣār*, pp. 10, 49-52; *Khazā’in-u’l-futūḥ*, pp. 181-184; *Qirān-u’s-sa’dam*, pp. 52, 53.

splendour and magnificence on the mind. 'Apart from their spectacular value, these public shows enabled the sultan to keep in touch with his subjects and to minister to the needs of the humble and the poor. When he rode out in a procession, any suppliant could draw his attention by holding up a petition or crying aloud for protection.¹ The general audience was the occasion for the persecuted and the needy to claim the sultan's protection; he generally heard their grievances and complaints.² It was in these public *darbārs* that the sovereign discharged the formal duties appertaining to his office. Matters requiring discussion and deliberation or involving secrecy were dealt with in the council chamber where only those officers were admitted whose advice was required.³ The private audience was less exclusive and was attended by the greater nobles and officers of the state.⁴ The more important members of the secretariat were also in attendance.⁵ The bulk of state business was conducted here : the sultan's talent was rewarded and failure censured; ambassadors from foreign countries and tributaries received; robes of honour and marks of distinction bestowed; tribute and presents from Hindu rājās and Muslim governors displayed; and appointments to higher grades of service made and announced. Some of this business was transacted on special occasions in a public audience.

The diversity of the business and the requirements of a spectacular ceremonial necessitated the attendance of a large number of men of various ranks. They had to be carefully marshalled, the order of their precedence exactly defined, and even the manner of their salutation formally prescribed. The dignity of the monarch required that everything should work smoothly and with clock-work precision. All this required a big staff of officers, ushers and heralds. There were the sultan's bodyguard, his personal attendants, the palace guards, the staff required to serve the inmates of the royal

¹ E.g., 'Afiif, p. 448.

² Sarwānī, f. 67b.

³ 'Afiif, p. 278.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 277-278.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 279.

palace and a host of other workers. Besides, a few state departments were treated as part of the palace organization. Thus the royal household played an important part in the government of the sultanate, not only because courtiers always possess influence in a polity of which the monarch is the pivot, but also on account of its actual share in the administrative machinery of the state. A discussion of its organization will indicate its importance.

The chief dignity of the household was the *wakīl-i-dar*.¹

Wakīl-i-dar. Under the Abbasids the office had assumed great importance, though it was known by the name of *ustād-u'd-dar*. So influential was this post that, under the weaker caliphs, it was the *amīr-u'l-umārā* who held it; the Buwayhid princes even adopted the title as a mark of distinction.² The office sank into insignificance under the later Abbasids, but at other courts it was always bestowed on a noble of rank and prestige.³ The *wakīl-i-dar* controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the sovereign's personal staff.⁴ The royal kitchen, the *sharābkhānah*, the stables, and even the royal children were under his care.⁵ All royal orders relating to the household were communicated through him; it was he who reported all affairs requiring royal sanction.⁶ He had a separate secretariat where every order was first registered and then received the impression of his seal.⁷ As the courtiers and *nadīms*, the princes, the queens and all forming part of the royal household or dependent on it had to approach him, the *wakīl-i-dar* exercised great influence and was, in many respects, considered to be, the sultan's deputy.⁸ As he was always dealing with men of importance, he had to be exceedingly tactful, and the office could not be a mere sinecure. If he had not possessed rank and ability, he could not have discharged his duties efficiently. Even his staff had to be selected very

¹ E.g., Baranī, p. 576.

² *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 81.

³ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 82.

⁴ *History of the Saracens*, p. 411.

⁵ *Minhāj*, p. 298; *Nāẓim*, p. 147.

⁶ *A.M.*, f. 43a. ⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.*, ff. 42b-43b

carefully.¹ He had to keep the sultan well-informed regarding the affairs under his control, and, therefore, had need of vigilance, because most of the important personages, with whom he had dealings, had themselves direct access to the sultan.² The *wakil-i-dar* was by no means a mere *maitre d'hôtel*, because his powers were extensive and his jurisdiction embraced men and women of great political importance, so much so that the office was sometimes held by men who were virtually regents to the reigning monarch.³ He was not the royal representative in the *darbār*, nor should he be confused with the Mughul *wakil-u's-saltānah* who was the chief minister.⁴ Under Ghaznavid rule the governors and other officials serving in the provinces kept their agents at the court through whom all official correspondence was conducted.⁵ An agent of this type was styled the *wakil-i-dar* of his master, but his position was entirely different from that of the royal *wakil-i-dar* in the sultanate of Dehlī. This officer had existed under the Ghaznavids but was known by a different name; he was called *ṣāhib-i-dīwān-i-wikālat*.⁶ The *wakil-i-dar* was the controller of the household. Under Humāyūn he was called *wakil-i-dar-i-khānah* and had not lost his importance, in spite of the fact that there was a separate functionary called *mīr-i-sāmān* to look after household stores.⁷ The *wakil-i-dar* was assisted by another noble of standing who was styled *nā'ib wakil-i-dar*.⁸

¹ A.M., f. 43a.

² *Siyāsāt-nāmah*, p. 82.

³ E.g., 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān when Balban was sent away from Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd's court, *Minhāj*, p. 298.

⁴ Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 287; *Ā'im-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 4. Blochmann calls the *wakil-u's-saltānah* 'the emperor's lieutenant in all matters connected with the realm and the household' (i, p. v); but the text is "نائب ملکی و مالی باشد" which is more in accord with the context and should be translated as 'lieutenant in all political and financial matters.'

⁵ *Baihaqī*, e.g., pp. 93, 96.

⁶ *Nāẓim*, p. 147.

⁷ *Akbar nāmah*, i, pp. 202, 306.

⁸ *Baranī*, pp. 36, 275.

Almost equal in importance and rank was the *amīr ḥājib* who was also styled *bārbek*.¹ European authorities generally call him 'the chief chamberlain'—a term which does not exactly connote the functions and duties of this office.² The *bārbek* was the master of ceremonies at the court; it was his duty to marshal the nobles and the officials in accordance with the precedence of their rank and to safeguard the dignity of all royal functions. His assistants—the *ḥājibs*—stood between the sovereign and his subjects and nobody could enter the royal presence without being introduced by them.³ They conveyed messages from their royal master to suppliants and officials.⁴ All petitions were presented to the sultan through the *amīr ḥājib* or his subordinates.⁵ "The affairs of all grades of men were managed through the bestowal of his indulgent attention."⁶ His post, therefore, commanded great prestige, and was generally reserved for princes of royal blood or the sultan's most trusted nobles.⁷ Even the *nā'ib bārbek*, whose duty was to assist the superior officer, was often a near relation or a friend of the sultan.⁸ It was one of his special duties to make arrangements for the more important celebrations.⁹ Sometimes a *nā'ib bārbek* was associated with some other noble to act as the sultan's deputy in his absence from the capital.¹⁰ The monarch had practically always a few *ḥājibs* in attendance, and one or two of these waited on him when he was alone or even closeted with his nobles in consultation. Probably these selected

¹ The evidence is conclusive. Throughout the period, the terms are interchangeable and always indicate the same man, e.g., *Baranī*, pp. 24, 61; *ʿAfīf*, p. 42.

² E.g., Raverty in his translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (p. 821) calls him 'Lord Chamberlain'. ³ I.B., ii, pp. 80-82.

⁴ A.M., f. 43b; *ʿAfīf*, p. 60; *Qirān-u's-sa'dām*, p. 53.

⁵ I.B., ii, p. 53; *Baranī*, p. 578.

⁶ *Dastūr-u'l-kātib fī ta'yīn-i'l-marātib*, f. 90a.

⁷ *Baranī*, pp. 36, 37, 61; *Bahqāī*, p. 7.

⁸ *ʿAfīf*, pp. 42, 428.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 361.

¹⁰ *Idem*, p. 431, also, *Baranī*, p. 509.

hājibs were styled *khāṣ hājibs*.¹ Some leading *hājibs* were given special titles, such as *sayyid-u'l-hujjāb* or *sharaf-u'l-hujjāb*.² The *hājibs* were mostly trained soldiers and were often entrusted with the command of military expeditions.³ When the sultan in person took the field, the *hājibs* acted as his *aides-de-camp*.⁴ One of the *hājibs* was assigned the duty of making inventories of all presents received by the monarch and was called *hājib-i-faṣl*.⁵ The leading *hājibs* were often invited by the monarch to attend councils of war and their advice carried weight.⁶ Except those who were on the lower rungs of the service, they were important officials of state and were by no means merely courtiers or household officers.⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that some *amīr hājibs* seized the regency under weak monarchs.⁸

Equally prominent in all ceremonial functions, though of much inferior rank, were the ushers or *naqībs*.⁹ They were also used to proclaim orders to the soldiers and to the populace. They ran in front of the royal cavalcade announcing in a loud voice the presence of the sultan.¹⁰ Their chief was called the *naqīb-u'l-nuqabā*, whose insignia of office consisted of a gold

¹ 'Utbī uses the words *hājib-i-khāṣ*, *amīr hājib* and *hājib-i-kabīr* for the same man, *Altūntāsh* (pp. 342, 349, 406). The *khāṣ hājib* was certainly different from the *amīr hājib* in the sultanate of Dehlī; *Baranī* (p. 36) mentions a *khāṣ hājib* along with the *amīr hājib*. Both of these officials are mentioned by name. The term *amīr-u'l-hujjāb* is only a variation of *amīr hājib*; there is little ground to believe that they are different, *vide Minhāj*, p. 302 and Raverty's note in his translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 820. Under *Shēr Shāh* the officer was sometimes styled *hujjābdār*, *Dā'ūdī*, f. 87a.

I.B. (ii, p. 53) states that the *amīr hājib*, *khāṣ hājib*, *sayyid-u'l-hujjāb* and *sharaf-u'l-hujjāb* received petitions from suppliants to the sultan's justice.

² I.B., ii, p. 52; *Baranī*, pp. 527-528.

³ 'Utbī, p. 186; *Minhāj*, p. 173; *Baranī*, p. 322.

⁴ E.g. *Baihaqī*, p. 662; *Baranī*, p. 90.

⁵ *Qurān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 93. Also called *hājib-i-faṣṣāl*, *idem*, p. 85.

⁶ *Baihaqī*, pp. 585-586; *Qurān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 64; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 96.

⁷ *Minhāj*, pp. 7, 199, 260; *Baranī*, pp. 113, 322, etc.

⁸ *Baihaqī*, p. 13; *Minhāj*, p. 192.

⁹ *Baranī*, p. 30.

¹⁰ I.B., ii, p. 36.

mace and a gold tiara surmounted with peacock feathers. He sat on a platform in front of the door leading into the hall of audience and scrutinized every new-comer.¹ He and his assistants delivered the formal eulogies on occasions of feasts and celebrations.²

The sultans had also a number of picked soldiers called *jāndārs* who acted as his bodyguard; only Bodyguard. tall, handsome, brave young men of impressive physique were chosen to serve in this capacity. They were given a full military training and great care was bestowed on their uniforms and equipment. It was their duty to be present on all occasions when the sultan appeared in public. Balban employed Sīstānī soldiers and paid them sixty to seventy thousand *jitals* a year.³ These men surrounded the sovereign with drawn swords, which added to the magnificence of his processions and, at the same time, impressed his people.⁴ The *jāndārs* were generally slaves of proved loyalty and were commanded by a trustworthy noble who was styled *sar-jāndār*; sometimes there were two *sar-jāndārs*, one for the right and the other for the left.⁵ They were no longer employed in Dehli either as armour-bearers or doorkeepers, whatever may have been their duties when they were first appointed by Muslim rulers outside India.⁶ Another body of fully armed soldiers called *silāḥdārs* waited on the sultan when he gave public audience or rode out.⁷ Their leader was called *sar-silāḥdār*; there were generally two *sar-silāḥdārs*, one for each wing.⁸ The female quarters were guarded by eunuchs.⁹ As the

¹ I.B., pp. 218-219. ² *Idem*, pp. 240-241. ³ *Baranī*, p. 30. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 24. Sometimes there were even more. I do not understand Raverty's difficulty (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, English translation, p. 603, note 7) in reconciling the idea that the *jāndārs* were slaves with the fact that they were sometimes commanded by free nobles.

⁶ No *jāndār* is mentioned as doing these duties by the contemporary historians. There was a separate *shāḥnah-i-zarrād khānah*; *Minhāj*, p. 254.

⁷ I.B., ii, p. 36; *Baranī*, p. 30.

⁸ *Baranī*, p. 24, also called *mīr silāḥ*, *Qurān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 96.

⁹ Hence the title of *khwājah sarā*, e.g., *Baranī*, p. 375.

Prophet hād prohibited human castration, the Muslims imported eunuchs from the neighbouring countries. Even the custom of employing eunuchs to guard the female quarters was adopted from the Byzantine and other non-Muslim courts.¹ Hindu rulers had large numbers of eunuchs in their palaces; indeed Viśhnū prescribes it as necessary for a king to have them to guard his wives.² The eunuchs also acted as messengers between the inmates of the harem and the outer world. Minor household posts were given to them, and they served the sultan as attendants in his private chambers. Occasionally a very capable eunuch impressed the monarch with his intelligence or efficiency and even rose to a position of power.³ For the inner pavilions and halls outside the female quarters there was another guard called *sarā-pardahdārān-i-khāṣ*.⁴ An important noble was their leader.⁵ Special care was taken at night when a trusted official called "the officer of the gates" inspected all the doors to see that they were properly bolted and barred, and that the guards were in their places.⁶ An additional body of picked infantry, mostly consisting of slaves, was kept in readiness and formed part of the royal guard in hunts and processions.⁷ A number of *mufrads* were also used as guards.⁸

The minor officers of the household can be described in a few words. There was the usual host of domestic and personal servants organized according to their duties. The library was under a *kitābdār*; the *chāshnīgīr* supervised the kitchen, tasted the food and carved the meat for the sultan.⁹ The *sharābdār*

¹ V.K., pp. 171-172; Mez., p. 353.

² Viśhnū, iii, 21.

³ E.g., Malik Kāfūr, Malik Qaranfāl.

⁴ Afif, p. 279.

⁵ Called *pardahdār-i-khāṣ* Baihaqī, p. 817.

⁶ Called *'uhdahdār-i-darhā*; Baranī, p. 406.

⁷ Baranī, pp. 273, 376

⁸ *Qurān-u's-sa'dain*, p. 140. For a fuller description of *mufrads*, vide *infra*, chapter VII.

⁹ *Minhāj*, pp. 232, 261, 265. The *kitābdār* was also called *māshāf bardār*. Also, I. B., ii, p. 71.

was responsible for drink which was served by the *sāqī-i-khāṣ*.¹ The chief *farrāsh* looked after the furniture and the tents, the *ṭashṭdār* was the ewer-bearer, who helped the sultan in his ablutions, and the *mash'alāhdār* was responsible for the lights.² The royal writing case was kept by the *dawātdār*, the intimate personal attendant was the *āghāchī*, and the registrar of the palace was *dabīr-i-sarā*.³ The *bahlahdār*, also known as *khazīnahdār*, was the keeper of the privy purse.⁴ The *sar-chatrdār* was the chief of the umbrella bearers; the *amīr-i-tuzuk* looked after the royal insignia; the *qūrbeg* was responsible for the sultan's arms.⁵ The monarch's personal arms and armour were in charge of the *khāṣjahdār*.⁶ The royal physician was generally styled *malik-u'l-hukamā*.⁷

The royal family seem to have exercised remarkably little influence in politics, though they enjoyed great prestige. The senior queen was styled *malikah-i-jahān*, and the queen mother bore the title of *khudāwandah-i-jahān*, or, more commonly, of *maḥdūmah-i-jahān*.⁸ Little is on record regarding the power they may have exercised behind the scenes, but, apart from Raḍiyah who was a queen in her own right, only two seem to have interfered in the affairs of state. *Shāh Turkān*, mother of Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz, a lady noted for her patronage of learning and charity, meddled in politics with disastrous results.⁹ Jalāl-u'd-dīn *Khaljī*'s widow raised her son Rukn-u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm to the throne but could not keep

¹ *Minhāj*, pp. 242, 251. *Sharāb* means anything to drink, not necessarily alcoholic. Another reading is *sar-ābdār*, 'the head water keeper.'

² *Baihaqī*, pp. 11, 817; *Minhāj*, pp. 248, 249, 254; *Baranī*, p. 183, I.B., ii, p. 89.

³ *Minhāj*, p. 242; *Baihaqī*, pp. 817, 819.

⁴ *Minhāj*, pp. 248, 254.

⁵ *Baranī*, pp. 126, 241, 527.

⁶ *Minhāj*, p. 265.

⁷ *Baranī*, pp. 454, 455.

⁸ *Minhāj*, p. 181; *Baranī*, p. 482.

⁹ *Minhāj*, pp. 182-185. Her intrigues cost her son Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz his throne.

him there.¹ Muḥammad bin Tughluq's mother was known for her benevolent philanthropy and liberality to the poor; her social influence was very great.² Dehlī remained remarkably immune from petticoat intrigue and wire-pulling; the sultanate never knew a *sultan validé* who practically ruled the Ottoman Empire during the days of its decay.³ In so strenuous a period, only a man's strong hand could steer the ship of the state. The princes were given a good general and literary education; the sultanate produced a large number of cultured princes.⁴ They also received military training and were soon trusted with commands in the army or with governorships. Other royal relations were treated according to their antecedents and the temper of the monarch and his supporters. Some of them enjoyed positions of responsibility and trust; others, if they were considered dangerous, were imprisoned, mutilated or executed.⁵

The slaves were an integral part of the royal household and played an important part in the administration of the country. The Abbasids were the first Muslim dynasty to employ large numbers of Turkish slaves; but, in perfecting this organization, they were training their own future masters. The tradition, however, persisted, and the Turkish rulers maintained this method of recruiting new blood to their own ranks; slaves became, in varying degrees, an integral part of the government machinery.⁶ The system had certain

¹ Baranī, pp. 238, 239. Her action alienated the elder son who could have had some chance against 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī.

² Baranī, pp. 482, 483.

³ During the so-called "reign of women."

⁴ E.g., Balban's two sons, Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Sikandar Lodī, etc.

⁵ E.g., Firūz Shāh, Kishlī Khān, etc. were treated well; 'Afif, p. 42; Baranī, p. 113; Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī's sons and relations were imprisoned or executed by 'Alā-u'd-dīn; Baranī, pp. 249, 250.

⁶ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, ff. 71, 72; also *Ottoman Statecraft* on the employment of slaves.

obvious advantages. Each slave had to struggle for promotion, and usually rose by sheer merit. He climbed from the lowest rungs of the ladder, thus gaining invaluable experience; the very buffets of fortune made him strong and hardy. Besides, there was a personal bond between the monarch and the slave which was sanctified by sentiment and custom; for slaves were treated kindly and were looked upon as members of the family. They were well provided for and even inherited their master's property. Slavery did not imply any disgrace; it was, on the other hand, a source of pride to belong to a great man's household. The master also took pride in the greatness of his slaves. When a courtier expressed concern at the fact that Muḥammad bin Sām had no sons, the sultan replied, "I have many sons in my Turkish slaves; they will inherit my lands and continue the *khutbah* in my name when I am dead and gone." The slaves were first given minor household offices, and if they showed promise, they were gradually promoted to higher posts according to their merit, no office in the state being considered too high for them. Their power, at times, proved dangerous to the unity and stability of the empire. İltutmish and Balban had to deal with powerful slave nobles of previous reigns and Fīrūz Shāh's last days were clouded by the machinations of some of his slaves whose misdoings ultimately resulted in anarchy; yet monarchy had to rely on its slaves against the high-handedness of nobles. Some of 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Khalji's success can be attributed to his possession of fifty thousand slaves who not only formed fighting squads of guards and soldiers but were also employed in every branch of the administration.²

Even this number was surpassed in Fīrūz Shāh's reign when a separate department was organized to deal with the slaves. The generals were encouraged to take numerous prisoners and to present them to the sultan after proper training; one

¹ *Minhāj*, p. 132.

² *Baranī*, pp. 318, 319, 323; *Afif*, p. 272. Muḥammad bin Tughluq had 20,000 slaves, *Masālik-u'l-absār*, p. 28.

hundred and eighty thousand slaves are said to have been collected and entrusted with different kinds of work. The sultan's personal guard absorbed a large number. Whenever the monarch marched out, several thousands of these slaves would accompany him divided into bodies of archers and soldiers, some of them walking, some riding Arab and Turkish horses and some even on the backs of specially trained buffaloes. There was no department of the household or administration where they were not in evidence : the capital and the provinces were alike full of them. Even so the administration could not absorb them all ; the sultan distributed many amongst schools and colleges for general and religious education. No less than twelve thousand were taught different arts and crafts so that they might set up as independent artisans ; some were even sent to Mecca to spend their lives in prayer and meditation.¹ The slaves in the royal household received a salary of 20 to 125 *tankahs* in cash, in addition to food and clothing.² In view of their numbers it is not surprising that the slaves had to be administered by an independent department with its own officers, accounts office and treasury.³ The large number of slaves acquired by Firūz Shāh is a measure of his success in pacifying the sultanate after insurrection had raised its head in every nook and corner owing to Muḥammad bin Tughluq's harshness. These slaves were prisoners of war, captured rebels, and their multitude is an index to the progress of the royal arms in the refractory areas.⁴ Firūz Shāh displayed great sagacity in dealing with the captives. Instead of destroying them, he trained the prisoners to be useful and loyal citizens. Their lives had been spared and they had been well treated ; naturally they became faithful supporters of the régime ; large numbers were settled in outlying areas to form a nucleus of loyal citizens in every district which had hitherto been parti-

¹ *'Afiḥ*, pp. 268-273.

² *'Afiḥ*, p. 270. Under Muḥammad bin Tughluq they were given ten *tankahs* a month in addition to rations and dress. S. A., p. 71 ; E. & D., iii, p. 577.

³ *'Afiḥ*, p. 271.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 268.

cularly recalcitrant.¹ These men enriched the life of the empire in every sphere and probably played a considerable part in bringing about the prosperity which was such a marked feature of the reign.²

A big institution like the imperial household naturally required a large commissariat ; this was *Kārkhānahs*. divided into departments called *kārkhānahs*. Their number may have varied in different reigns ; under Fīrūz Shāh it was thirty-six.³ They were divided into two classes : *rātībī* and *ghair-rātībī*.⁴ Any *kārkhānah* which dealt in perishable goods came under the first classification ; for instance, *kārkhānahs*, providing food and fodder for the stables, the kennels, the kitchen were *rātībī*. The *sham'-khānah*, which provided lamps and oil, was also *rātībī*. The *ghair-i-rātībī kārkhānahs* supplied clothes, uniforms, furniture, tents, and the like. Each *kārkhānah* was supervised by a distinguished noble holding the rank of a *malik* or a *khān* and had a *mutasarrif* who was responsible for the accounts and acted as the immediate supervisor. There was a chief *mutasarrif* for all the *kārkhānahs* ; requisitions were first sent to him, and he passed them on to the *mutasarrif* concerned. A

¹ 'Afif (p. 270) mentions only the provinces, but Fīrūz could not have neglected the well-known method of maintaining peace by colonization.

² 'Afif, pp. 288-302.

³ The number thirty-six, however, seems to be traditional. One hears of thirty-six *kārkhānahs* under the Mughuls. The modern state of Jaipur has maintained the tradition of thirty-six *kārkhānahs* though there have been many changes in their nature and organization.

⁴ The following *kārkhānahs* are mentioned by name in various parts of the text ('Afif) :—

Rātībī : *abdārkhānah*=water supply of the palace ; the kitchen ; *sham'-dārkhānah*=the department of lights ; *'itrdārkhānah*=scents ; *pāigāh*=stables and breeding of horses ; *pilkhānah*=elephants ; *suṭūr*=oxen, mules ; kennels ; falcons ; leopards ; camels ; medicines. *Ghair-i-rātībī* : *jāmdārkhānah* also called *jāmahdārkhānah*=wardrobe ; *ṭashṭdārkhānah*=ewer-bearer and baths ; *'alamkhānah*=standards ; *kutābkhānah*=library ; *ghari-yākhānah*=time-keepers and gongs ; *farrāshkhānah*=furniture and tents ; *rikābkhānah*=saddlery, harness, etc., *zarrādkhānah*=armour and war material ; *silāḥkhānah*=arms ; jewels.

There were two or even more *kārkhānahs* for certain requirements, for instance, a *jāmdārkhānah* of the right wing is mentioned.

separate *dīwān* or accounts office existed under Fīrūz Shāh for the *kārkhānahs*, though the *mutaṣarrifs* had to deal with the *dīwān-i-wizārat*—the central accounts office—as well. At the end of each year the clerks of the *kārkhānahs* were sent for by the *dīwān-i-wizārat* and their accounts were audited.¹ The *kārkhānahs* bought their supplies in the open market and traders were eager to obtain orders.² There is very little indication of the working of the *kārkhānahs* in other reigns, though they are mentioned by contemporary authorities.³ In a story regarding the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh, the *Ādāb-u'l-mulūk* mentions three *kārkhānah* officers : a *muhtar*, or head ; a *mushrif* or supervisor ; and a *tahwīldār* or treasurer.⁴ The first two correspond respectively with the noble at the head of the *kārkhānah* and the *mutaṣarrif* of Fīrūz Shāh's reign. It seems very likely that there was a treasurer for every *kārkhānah* at Dehlī as well. The literal meaning of the word *kārkhānah* is a workshop ; most of the *kārkhānahs* in the royal household were factories to manufacture articles for court use. The *jāmdārkhānah*, for instance, turned out the best cloth in the empire. Muḥammad bin Tughluq employed no less than five hundred workers in gold brocade and four thousand weavers of silk,⁵ who manufactured the cloth required by the household and for making the robes of honour which were so profusely bestowed.⁶ The sultan is reported to have distributed twenty thousand dresses annually.⁶ Great care was also bestowed on the manufacture of arms, engines of war, armour and other fighting equipment.

Of the *rātibi kārkhānahs*, the *pāigāh* or the horse breeding department was the most extensive. Royal stables. There were five big centres near Dehlī under Fīrūz Shāh ; other sultans also took great care that the army was always kept well supplied with horses. Arab and

¹ *Aḥīf*, pp. 337-340.

² *Idem*, p. 99.

³ E.g., *Baranī*, pp. 50, 109 ; *Sarwānī*, f. 65a.

⁴ A.M., f. 15a.

⁵ E. & D., iii, p. 578 ; S.A., p. 51 ; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 30.

⁶ E. & D., iii, p. 578. I.B. (ii, p. 72) says that robes of honour were sent to every *amīr* twice a year.

Turkish horses found a ready market in India ; horses were imported even from distant Russia.¹ No gift seems to have been more acceptable in those days than a horse, and Muḥammad bin Tughluq is reported to have given away " ten thousand Arab horses of excellent breed " every year.² All this required a vast organization ; the *akhūrbek*, or the superintendent of the royal horses, was one of the most important officials of the household.³ Generally there were two *akhūrbeks*, one for each wing.⁴ Elephants played such a decisive part in warfare that the monarch took care that no officer or tributary chief had too many of them.⁵ By far the largest number of elephants in the realm was maintained in the royal stables under an important officer called *shahnah-i-fil*.⁶ Sometimes each wing had a different *shahnah-i-fil*.⁷ A large number of camels, mules, bullocks and buffaloes also was kept for purposes of transport.⁸

The royal sport of hunting gave employment to several *kārkhānahs*. It was not only a favourite Royal hunt. means of recreation, but also a good method of keeping the army in a state of readiness and efficiency, corresponding to the modern device of manœuvres on field days ; for on occasions of grand hunts the sultan and his followers marched in battle array.⁹ When Hulāgū heard of Balban's great interest in hunting, he praised the sultan for his insight and understanding in giving regular exercise to his army.¹⁰ A large number of hunting leopards, dogs and hawks were kept in the various *kārkhānahs* which specialized in training these animals and birds, breeding them in captivity or obtaining their young from the jungle.¹¹ The number of

¹ 'Afif, p. 340. The presence of the coins of the Delhi sultans in Russia as well as Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's evidence proves this, I.B., 1, p. 210; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 22.

² *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 30

³ E.g., *Minhāj*, pp. 232, 242.

⁴ E.g., *Baranī*, p. 24.

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 594.

⁶ *Idem*, pp. 24, 126.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 24.

⁸ *Vide supra*.

⁹ 'Afif, pp. 317-318 ; *Baranī*, p. 85 ; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Baranī*, p. 55.

¹¹ A.M., f. 41b ; *Baranī*, pp. 54, 600 ; 'Afif, pp. 317-318 ; *Qirān-u's-sa'dain*, pp. 53, 54 ; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 32

falconers alone, who accompanied the sultan on horseback, is estimated at a thousand to twelve hundred.¹ Each leopard had two or three men to look after it.² When the sultan rode out for a hunt, he was sometimes accompanied by five to six hundred courtiers, a thousand cavalry and a thousand infantry and archers.³ On these great occasions three thousand beaters were engaged to drive the quarry into the ring.⁴ Most of the game was distributed to the soldiers and the servants taking part in the hunt; the poor were not forgotten.⁵ Large forests were preserved near the capital itself besides the areas in the provinces noted for special game.⁶ An important officer, called *amīr-i-shikār*, was the 'grand huntsman'; another noble, styled *nā'ib amīr-i-shikār*, assisted him.⁷

The *amīr-i-majlis* was responsible for organizing the sultan's private parties, where the sultan met his friends.⁸ These parties were just social and cultural, and allowed the sultan to cultivate the society of the elect in his domains. Here gathered the most brilliant conversationalists, the best poets, historians, musicians and literati in the empire; in the dark days when the Muslim world was groaning under the yoke of the heathen Mongols, the court of Dehlī was the centre of all that was best in Muslim culture and art.⁹ It was in these assemblies that *Khushraw* sang his latest lyrics and *Sa'd-i-manṭiqī* and *Najm-i-Intishār* indulged in their philosophic hair-splitting.¹⁰ If the sultan happened to be so inclined, wine flowed freely, music rose in voluptuous strains and

¹ 'Afif, p. 318; S.A., p. 68.

² 'Afif, p. 317.

³ Baranī, p. 55.

⁴ S.A., p. 68.

⁵ 'Afif, pp. 325-326, 329.

⁶ *Idem*, pp. 319-328.

⁷ *Minhāj*, p. 169; Baranī, p. 54; 'Afif, p. 318.

⁸ E.g., *Minhāj*, p. 238; Baranī, p. 174. Raverty (pp. 731-732) translates *amīr-i-majlis* as 'lord of the assembly or council' which is literally correct but misleading, because it conveys the sense that he presided over deliberative bodies of the state. The officer was also called *malik-u'n-nudamā*, I.B., ii, p. 79.

⁹ E.g., Baranī, pp. 111-114; vide also Chapter IX.

¹⁰ Baranī, pp. 464-465.

graceful dancers swayed in harmony with eastern melodies. Only those found favour here whose quick wit and ready tongue could brighten the gathering and add to the joy of the passing hour.¹ A number of men were paid large salaries ranging from twenty to forty thousand *tankahs* a year with the grant of a village or two just for acting as the sultan's companions.² The quality of a monarch's *nadims* was very often an index to his character. A wise sultan chose the most accomplished men, so that he might utilize his leisure in broadening his outlook and cultivating the softer graces of life. It was through the influence of these *nadims* that the court acted as the greatest patron of art and learning. It was considered impolitic to entrust them with any post in the public administration.³

The etiquette at the court was complex and exacting. The order of precedence of the various Court etiquette. officials and members of the household was carefully defined and maintained.⁴ Except under Buhlūl Lodī, whose attitude was that of *primus inter pares*, the monarchs were treated with servile respect. On all public and semi-public occasions very few dignitaries were allowed to sit in the royal presence.⁵ The un-Islamic ceremony of kissing the ground in the presence of the monarch had been adopted by the Abbasids from whom it was passed on to Dehlī through the Ghaznavids.⁶ Even the jurists do not seem to have protested against this degrading custom; it was probably to respect their feelings that people of religious

¹ E.g., *Baranī*, pp. 158-164.

² S.A., p. 72.

³ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, pp. 82-84. For *nadims* under the Abbasid caliphs, vide, Burton : *Arabian Nights*, i, p. 46. The institution of *nadims* is of very old origin, vide, *Mez.*, pp. 143-144.

⁴ 'Afīf, pp. 277-287.

⁵ The custom seems to have varied in different reigns. I.B., (ii, pp. 35, 36) says everybody remained standing; 'Afīf, (pp. 280-287) mentions a few nobles who were allowed to sit.

⁶ E.g., *Baranī*, p. 142; 'Afīf, pp. 281-282; 'Utbi, p. 311; *Baihaqī*, pp. 6, 194, 268. It was called *zaminbūs*.

sanctity were exempted.¹ Even when the sultan was absent, the *wazīrs* and others saluted the throne on entering the hall of audience with so deep an obeisance that the head almost reached the ground and the backs of their fingers touched the floor.² This idea of paying homage to an absent monarch dates back to the Ghaznavids and even before their time, but it was probably carried to an extreme in the time of Islām Shāh Sūr. Every Friday the officials in the districts gathered in a solemn assembly where the regulations made by the sultan were read out and administered. The place of honour was occupied by an empty throne on which were placed the monarch's quiver and slippers.³

A court so particular about formalities could not ignore the question of royal insignia. *Khutbah*, Royal insignia, *sikkah* and *ṭarāz* have always been considered in Muslim countries to be the exclusive privilege of independent monarchs.⁴ The *khutbah* is a formal sermon preceding or following a congregational service, and its last part contains a prayer for the welfare of the Faithful and the sultan as the head of the community; mention in the *khutbah* was tantamount to formal recognition of sovereignty. The sultans who did not claim the caliphate for themselves had the name of the caliph recited with their own name, or prayers were offered for an unnamed caliph. If a claimant declared his independence, he removed his suzerain's name and substituted his own. The sultans did not allow the recitation of a subject's name in the *khutbah*. The only exception in the history of the sultanate of Dehlī is Firūz Shāh's consent to the inclusion of his son's name in the *khutbah*; but Firūz had practically abdicated.⁵ *Sikkah*, or the right of coining money, was also a royal privilege and every monarch who came to a throne, and each claimant who declared independence, struck at least a few pieces to com-

¹ E.g., Muḥammad bin Tughluq did not let Ibn Baṭṭūṭah kiss his feet (I.B., ii, p. 89); the *shaiḫ-u'l-Islām* was treated with great respect. 'Aḥf, pp. 286-287.

² I.B., ii, p. 74.

³ J.Z., p. 96.

⁴ *Badā'uni*, p. 385.

⁵ *Tārīḥ-i-Mubārakshāhī*, pp. 127-128.

memorate the event. The assumption of 'royalty' was proclaimed by at least these two methods. *Ṭārāz* was the weaving or embroidering of the royal name on pieces of silk or gold brocade ; no other name could be embroidered on fabrics.¹ There were several other tokens of royalty : 'Afif gives a list of twenty-one.² But the privilege of using some of them was granted to the nobles or the tributary chiefs to exalt them above others : no real importance was attached to these minor distinctions.

It will be a mistake to under-rate the share of the royal household in the actual administration of the sultanate. The royal bodyguard and picked household troops not only kept the nobles under discipline but also fought the battles of the empire whenever the need arose ; the *ḥājibs* commanded armies and acted as a general staff ; the *kārkhānahs* manufactured the goods required by the army and other departments of the state ; the royal stables bred horses and other animals required for war and transport, and the palace served as the training ground for future administrators and statesmen. Politically, socially and culturally the court was the heart of the sultanate.

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¹ J.Z. , pp. 103-105 ; *I'jāz-i-Khusrawī*, i, p. 13 ; *Barani*, p. 493, *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥasan Sajzī*, p. 338

² 'Afīf, pp. 107-109. The most important of these were the royal umbrellas. *Khusraw* (*Qirān-u's-sa'dain*, pp. 74-78) describes umbrellas of five colours—red, black, white, green and pink. The *dūrbāsh* has been described in *Qirān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 78. Also, *vide* *Strat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 160.

CHAPTER V

THE MINISTERS

"THE bravest of men require arms, and the wisest of kings need ministers," says the Arab adage.¹ The elementary political principle that one man cannot govern a kingdom was also recognized by the Hindus. "Sovereignty," says Kautilya with the characteristic Hindu facility for simile, "is possible only with assistance ; a single wheel will never function ; hence the king shall employ ministers and listen to their opinion."² The value of deliberation and counsel was fully understood.³ Tīmūr is reported to have compared a government devoid of these virtues to "a foolish man, who erreth in all that he sayeth and doeth," whose "actions and words bring forth no fruit but shame and repentance."⁴ Two of the most famous Muslim writers on politics point out that the Prophet, in spite of his great wisdom and inspiration, was ordained by God to consult his disciples in his undertakings ; hence they argue that rulers and monarchs with their limited vision and foresight cannot dispense with the advice of others.⁵ This argument is based on a verse of the Qur'ān which enjoins on Muslims deliberation and mutual consultation in conducting their affairs.⁶ Thus it becomes a religious duty for a monarch to seek counsel from others.

¹ *Nihāyat-u'l-arab*, p. 92.

² *Arthashastra*, p. 13.

³ *Sirāj-u'l-mulūk*, f. 67a ; *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 19a. *Tāj*, ff. 18b, 19a ; also, *vide Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter I where a governor is officially advised to consult the wise and the experienced. The importance of consultation is also emphasized in letters patent appointing a provincial *wazir*, *idem*, Letter II.

⁴ *Tuzūkāt-i-Tīmūrī*, p. 5.

⁵ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 85 ; *Qābūs-nāmah*, p. 27.

⁶ *Holy Qur'ān*, XLII, 38. This verse provided the sanction for the establishment of parliaments in Turkey and Persia in modern times.

A constructive effort to put this injunction into practice could, perhaps, have resulted in the establishment of representative bodies, but nowhere is the limitation of the Muslim jurists so apparent as in the failure to organize well-defined institutions in accordance with the democratic principles of Islam. Their essentially practical outlook prevented speculation; besides they could not rise above their environment. The physical difficulty of geographical distance, if nothing else, would completely rule out such an effort; still, an unambiguous verse of the Qur'an could not be lightly dismissed, and, though not given a legal form, it was commended as a moral consideration. A despotic command was not *inso facto* inoperative or invalid; though the obligation to seek counsel was freely conceded and its exercise advocated, the right to be consulted was neither demanded nor bestowed. During the days of the Republic the caliph consulted the important companions of the Prophet in all their undertakings; but there was no right to tender advice.¹ The caliphs in the capital and their representatives in the provincial cities took the community into confidence by reporting to them the state of affairs and explaining the new measures. This practice fell more and more into abeyance; though whenever a cause needed popular support, the pulpit was, and has ever been, used to canvass public opinion.² But, for advice in administrative affairs, the monarchs, after the fall of the Republic, turned more and more to their courtiers and servants. Influential and powerful elements were naturally represented at the court; for the government could not be carried on without their co-operation. Even this representation was informal and arbitrary. Its most perfect form was attained under Māmūn when, for the first time, a council of state representing various groups owing allegiance to the caliph was established and given full freedom in the expression of their opinions; but no scientific or democratic

¹ *History of the Saracens*, pp. 56-57.

² *E.g.*, Yazīd III's inaugural speech; also, *Minhāj*, p. 195.

method of selecting these representatives was devised.¹ Even this council deteriorated into a synod of divines and doctors of law when the caliphs lost all effective power.² At the court of Dehlī the sovereign was surrounded by the wisest and the most experienced men in the realm; he had wonderful opportunities of seeking advice and counsel and keeping in touch with public opinion; he had to bow before the will of strong elements or in face of widespread opposition; but there were no representative institutions. The ministers, therefore, were just the servants of the crown and responsible only to it. It should not be thought, however, that a minister had no real authority, for his position and powers were well defined by law and sanctified by tradition.

(The chief minister was called the *wazīr*.³ Muslim political thinkers attach great importance to this office. "The *wazīr*," says al-Fakhri, "stands midway between the sovereign and his subjects."⁴ Fakhr-i-Mudabbir calls a *wazīr* a partaker in sovereignty; indeed his own technical domain must be left alone by the monarch.⁵ "No empire," continues the same author, "can be stable or prosperous without a *wazīr*."⁶ In the words of an Indian ruler of this period, "Sovereignty and dominion could not attain the pinnacle of their height without the help and co-operation of a *wazīr*, whose wise deliberations would result in promoting the welfare of the country and the prosperity of the people."⁷ Such a person was not easy to find, but if Divine Providence raised the right man to this office, it was the duty of the people to be deeply thankful for such a blessing.⁸

¹ *History of the Saracens*, p. 406.

² *Ibid.*

³ Persian in origin, *vide Ancient Persia and Ancient Persian Civilization*, p. 141. In Islamic History, the office was the creation of the Abbasids; J.Z., p. 112.

⁴ V.K., p. 220 (footnote).

⁵ A.M., ff. 36a, b.

⁶ Also, *Tāj*, ff. 9b, 248a.

⁷ Humāyun Shāh Bahmanī, quoted in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, iii, pp. 35-36.

⁸ *Naṣā'ih Niẓām-u'l-mulk*, f. 218 (a):

The legal aspects of the institution have been discussed by the jurists. Legally, they say, *wizārat* is the lieutenancy of the monarch or the caliph.¹ A *wazīr*, therefore, enjoys delegated authority, which, by its very nature, is of two kinds. According to Māwardī, a *wazīr* could either be a *wazīr-u't-tafwīd* or a *wazīr-u't-tanfīdh*. The first enjoyed unlimited authority and could exercise the power and prerogatives of the sovereign with only a few restrictions.² He was required to inform the monarch of all his measures and could not, without special permission, dismiss or transfer an officer appointed by the ruler. He could, however, appoint officers in the name of the sovereign and hear complaints against all officials whether appointed by the monarch or not. If the sovereign and the *wazīr* both gave orders regarding the same matter in ignorance of each other's action, the command which had been issued first would stand. The sovereign, however, had the right to over-ride his minister when there was a serious difference of opinion. Another limitation was that the *wazīr*, under the well-known legal dictum—*delegatus non potest delegare*—could not appoint his own successor or representative. This kind of *wizārat* could be given only to a Muslim, because otherwise the Muslim community would be governed by a non-Muslim who might not respect the laws of Islam. The monarch cannot appoint several *wazīrs* with unlimited authority simultaneously unless their work and jurisdiction are defined exactly, or unless they are to act as an administrative board.³ The *wazīr-u't-tanfīdh* was merely an assistant of the sovereign whose orders it was his duty to carry out.³ In actual practice he also had a great deal of power, for he was the head of the administration and exercised official control over the bureaucracy and the people. All the orders issued by the monarch passed through his hands and received the final form in his office. The jurists

¹ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 17b.

² *Idem*, ff. 17b, 18a ; *Aḥkām-u's-sulṭāniyah*, pp. 21-28 ; J.Z., p. 114.

³ J.Z., pp. 115-116.

permit non-Muslims to hold this office.¹ This legal definition is based upon practical considerations ; but the lawyers generally miss the more flexible and uncertain element of human relationship.² The personal factor counts for so much. In the sultanate of Dehlī both these types of *wazīrs* are found ; most *wazīrs* possessed special and limited powers, a few enjoyed unlimited authority and ruled the empire in the name of the sultans, and some monarchs were under the tutelage of the chief noble who had usurped all power.³ It was only under feeble monarchs that *wazīrs* wielded complete authority.⁴ Their duties scarcely call for discussion, since the entire burden of government rested on their shoulders. It is the *wazīr* with specified powers and duties whose functions invite investigation.

“(The *Ādāb-u'l-mulūk* gives the normal functions of a *wazīr* in the following passage : “The kings know well how to lead expeditions, conquer countries, give rewards and shine in the assembly or the battlefield ; but it is in the domain of the *wazīr* to make a country prosperous, to accumulate treasures, to appoint officials, to ask for accounts, to arrange the stock-taking of the commodities in the *kārkhānās* and the census of the horses, camels, mules and other animals, to assemble and pay the troops and artisans, to keep the people satisfied, to look after the men of piety and of fame and to give them stipends, to take care of the widows and the orphans, to provide for the learned, to administer the affairs of the people, to organize the offices and look after their efficiency, in short, to transact the business of the state.”⁵ An analysis of this passage will show that the *wazīr* was the head of the entire machinery of the government. The central finance office was his immediate concern ; but he was also responsible for the other offices at headquarters. He appointed

¹ V.K., p. 224.

² *Wazīrs* with unlimited powers, e.g., *Khān Jahān* in the later portion of Firūz Shāh's reign ; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, pp. 135-136.

³ A.M., ff. 36a, b.

and superintended the civil servants, and organized the agency for the collection of the revenue; he also exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure. His assistants examined all the accounts submitted by the various departments of the government; it was in his office that the statements were compared, checked and passed. The *wazir* took measures—sometimes humiliating and unpleasant—to recover money illegally spent by local officials. All the requirements of the military department had to be referred finally to him; his office kept accounts, disbursed salaries and allotted assignments. His department paid the stipends to deserving scholars and men of learning and distributed doles to the poor and needy. No branch of public administration was outside his purview, and every subject from the mightiest governor to the lowliest peasant in the land had dealings with him or his assistants.)

“The very nature of the *wazir*'s office demanded that the ruler should co-operate with him and maintain his dignity.¹ Monarchs have seldom failed to support their *wazirs* in enforcing discipline on recalcitrant nobles or subordinates, even when the offenders happened to be royal favourites.² The government could not be carried on if there existed any palpable difference of opinion between the sovereign and his prime minister: there was no *via media* between agreement and dismissal.³ Whenever the *wazir* was distrusted and yet kept in office, the result was disorganization of the administration.⁴ It was by no means easy to dismiss a *wazir*, for very often he was irreplaceable. The post required great technical knowledge, wisdom and experience.⁵ The ruler, therefore, took

¹ *Qābūs-nāmah*, p. 168.

² E.g., Mas'ūd and Abū-'l-Qāsim Kathīr (*Baihaqī*, pp. 447, 448), Firūz Shāh and 'Ain-u'l-mulk ('*Afif*, pp. 413-414). ³ *Qābūs-nāmah*, p. 163

⁴ E.g., Abū Rijā's elevation and usurpation of the *wazir*'s powers under Firūz Shāh; '*Afif*, pp. 458-492.

⁵ A.M., ff. 35b-37b; *Qābūs-nāmah*, p. 159. 'Ain-u'l-mulk, the *wazir*'s greatest enemy, himself advised Firūz Shāh against dismissing Khān Jahān; '*Afif*, pp. 415-416.

great care in choosing his *wazīr* and expected a very high standard of attainment and character from him.¹ Once he was appointed, it was considered necessary to endow him with great authority.²

In spite of this, the *wazīr*'s position was by no means easy to maintain against a jealous master.³ A difficult position. Envious courtiers were always on the look out for an opportunity to poison the sovereign's mind by insinuating that power had turned the *wazīr*'s head.⁴ The *wazīr* had to exercise great power and yet allay all suspicion. A wise man took care that no one should undermine his influence with his master.⁵ (It was an elementary precaution to keep himself informed regarding all the happenings in the court and the palace.⁶) Probably the most difficult men to control were the courtiers, for they always surrounded the sovereign and had great influence over him. They generally possessed large assignments and were not always very careful in their financial dealings; with them may be classed the governors of provinces and military chiefs. If they owed money to the state, it was the *wazīr*'s duty to extract it from them. If he were not strict, the exchequer would suffer, and he could not make a success of his tenure of office. As practically the whole bureaucracy had financial dealings with the state, an exacting *wazīr* would soon have all officialdom against him and he could not hold out for long. "These men the *wazīr* could neither befriend nor alienate with safety."⁷ Great judgment was required to maintain the balance between the demands of the state and the capacity of the taxpayer, but fortunately it was widely recognized that the stability

¹ Vide Māmūn's views, quoted in *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 266-267.

² A.M., ff. 37a, b.

³ Vide Abū Naṣr Miṣḥkān's remarks to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, *Jawāmi'-u'l-ḥikāyat*, I, XII, 9.

⁴ E.g., 'Ain-u'l-mulk's remarks to Firūz Shāh, 'Afif, p. 411.

⁵ Qābūs-nāmah, p. 163.

⁶ Idem, p. 161.

⁷ Naṣā'ih Niẓām-u'l-mulk, f. 227a. Muḥadḍahab-u'd-dīn was killed by nobles, Minḥāj, p. 198. Also, vide 'Afif, pp. 415-416 where nobles almost brought about Khān Jahān's fall.

of the state and the prosperity of the people were interdependent.¹ It was exacting to act as the monarch's chief counsellor. The *wazīr* was called upon to advise the sultan on matters of very diverse nature; therefore he had to be a man of almost encyclopædic knowledge. The monarch might pose a question of strategy or foreign policy, or he might ask for an opinion on the merits of a new *mathnawī*. It was, therefore, the *wazīr*'s duty to keep himself well informed regarding the happenings in neighbouring states; he was expected to have sound knowledge of military science; a liberal education was his least attainment. Most of the *wazīrs* under the sultans of Dehlī were men of culture and refined taste: even the ill-educated *Khān* Jahān Maqbūl—one of the most capable of ministers—was considered to be the wisest of men.² He was the only *wazīr* in the history of the sultanate who had not received a good literary education; other *wazīrs* were men fit to adorn a court which was, for most of the period, the greatest patron of learning in the eastern world.³ The *wazīr* was paid handsomely. Foreign observers were struck with the vastness of his assignment and the large salaries of his assistants.⁴ The splendour of his camp sometimes deceived even the experienced courtier, so little was the difference between his entourage and that of the sultan.⁵ As a mark of their complete confidence, the sultans often made all inquiries in public audience through the *wazīr*.⁶ In spite of these outward signs of trust and favour, the wise monarch did not fail to keep an eye on the actions of his minister, for the misuse of such authority might even bring down the empire.⁷

¹ *Qābūs-nāmah*, p. 159.

² *Idem*, p. 161; *Minhāj*, p. 144; *ʿAḥīf*, pp. 394-399.

³ *Vide* Chapter IX.

⁴ E. & D., iii, p. 578.

⁵ *ʿAḥīf*, pp. 410-411.

⁶ E.g., Firūz Shāh, *ʿAḥīf*, pp. 282-284.

⁷ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, pp. 19-27.

The *wazīr's* department was called the *diwān-i-wizārat*, and mainly dealt with finance.¹ He was *Diwān-i-wizārat*, assisted by a *nā'ib wazīr* who acted as his general assistant.² Next to him was the *mushrif-i-mumālīk* who was the accountant-general for the empire.³ The *mustaufi-i-mumālīk* was the auditor-general. Originally the *mushrif's* duty was to enter up the accounts received from the provinces and the various departments and the *mustaufi* audited them. Separate copies of the statements of accounts were sent to the *mushrif* as well as to the *mustaufi* and naturally resulted in unnecessary duplication of work; though there was the advantage that the accounts were checked by two independent authorities.⁴ In Firūz Shāh's reign, however, the work was redistributed. The *mushrif* dealt with income and the *mustaufi* with expenditure; the text seems to imply that this division of work had taken place some time before and that Firūz Shāh only clarified a situation which had been somewhat obscure and undefined. The *mushrif* was assisted by a *nā'iz* who supervised, through a large staff distributed all over the empire, the collection of revenue; he also audited the local accounts.⁵ Sulṭān Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī, anxious to find a post for a relation in the *diwān-i-wizārat* and being faced with the situation that there was no vacancy, created the office of the *waqūf* who was given the duty of supervising the expenditure incurred by local authorities. The office proved so useful that the staff was soon increased and the institution made permanent.⁷ The *wazīr* received the reports from the *mustaufi* and the *mushrif*; his staff compared them with each other and with

¹ This department was directly under the *wazīr*: 'Afif gives a good description, pp. 419-420.

² E.g., 'Afif, p. 419; Baranī, p. 24.

³ Vide *infra*.

⁴ A.M., ff. 40b-41b; 'Afif, pp. 409-410.

⁵ 'Afif, pp. 409-410. Firūz Shāh only confirmed the contention of his *wazīr* which means that the tradition was already in existence. There are traces of this tradition under the Abbasids who maintained autonomous departments of salaries and expenditure, *Mez.*, pp. 76, 77.

⁷ 'Afif, p. 420; *Ijāz-i-Khūrawī*, ii, p. 55.

¹ 'Afif, p. 420.

the fuller reports submitted direct by local agencies.¹ The *mushrif-i-mumālīk* and the *mustaufi-i-mumālīk* were both officers of ministerial rank and had direct access to the monarch. Under Firūz Shāh's scheme the *waqūf* must have been placed under the *mustaufi-i-mumālīk*, though the fact has not been mentioned. Al-Qalqashandī's informants probably refer to the chief *mushrif*, the chief *mustaufi*, the *nāzir* and the *waqūf* when they speak of the *wazīr's* four deputies. Each of these officers is said to have about three hundred clerks under him.² This number was by no means too large, for the passage refers to the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. The *wazīr* was generally styled *ṣadr-i-ʿālī* which was gradually replaced by the more honorific *khwājah-i-jahān*.³

There were three other main ministries, which, together with the *diwān-i-wizārat*, were compared to four pillars supporting the vault of the state. The first in importance was the *diwān-i-risālat* which dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety. This office was presided over by the *ṣadr-u-ʿṣ-ṣudūr*, who, generally, was also the *qāḍī-i-mumālīk*; in this capacity he controlled the department of justice.⁴ The *diwān-i-risālat* and the *diwān-i-qāḍā* were mostly looked upon as the branches of a common department. The *diwān-i-ʿard* was the office of the *ʿarīḍ-i-mumālīk* who was the controller-general of the military department. His department maintained the descriptive rolls of the horses and men, while he himself was the inspector-general of the forces. This officer or his provincial assistants enlisted recruits and fixed their pay.⁵

¹ Afīf, p. 409.

² S.A., p. 68. *Masālik-u'l-absār* (pp. 31-32) has a slightly different version which seems to be somewhat confused.

³ *Tāj*, f. 25a; I.B., ii, p. 74. The titles *sharf-u'l-mulk*, *niẓām-u'l-mulk*, *tāj-u'l-mulk*, etc. were personal, though they were mostly enjoyed by *wazīrs* or their assistants; e.g., *Tāj*, ff. 35b; *Tārikh-i-Afī*, ii, f. 256.

⁴ Vide Chapter VIII.

⁵ Vide Chapter VII.

So important were the functions of this department that the sultan himself might perform some of the duties of the 'arīd-i-mumālīk.¹ The third office was the *diwān-i-inshā* which dealt with royal correspondence. It has rightly been called 'the treasury of secrets,' for the *dabīr-i-khāṣ*, who presided over this department, was also the confidential clerk of the state.² /

The *diwān-i-risālat* and the *diwān-i-'arḍ* will be described more fully in subsequent chapters. The *Diwān-i-inshā*. *dabīr-i-khāṣ* was assisted by a number of *dabīrs*, men who had already established their reputation as masters of style, for letter-writing was a highly cultivated art at this time, and the courts vied with one another in the excellence of their communications.³ (All the correspondence, formal or confidential, between the sovereign and the rulers of other states or his own tributaries and officials passed through this department. Mu'āwiyah first organized a correspondence office on a regular basis and called it *diwān-i-khātām*, or the department of the royal seal.⁴ It gradually came to be known as *diwān-i-rasā'il*, or the department of correspondence.⁵ The Ghaznavids also had a similar department which they called '*diwān-i-risālat*.'⁶ There can be no doubt that this office dealt with royal correspondence and was under the *dabīr-i-khāṣ*.⁷) How was it that another department, already mentioned, came to be known by this name under the sultans of Dehlī? Nothing definite is on record; but the following appear to be the most probable reasons. The department of the pious foundations

¹ E.g., *Sher Shāh*, vide *Sarwānī*, ff. 68b, 69a.

² 'Utbi, p. 30; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 184; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter CV., *Tāj*, ff. 59b, 142a; *Qaṣā'id-i-Badr-i-Chāch*, p. 14:

دبیر خاص خسرو را ز واهب این خطاب آمد
که زلف عارض من باد تکریرات ارقامش

³ E.g., *Baranī*, p. 91; *Baihaqī*, p. 6. Bib. Ind. edition has *hājib-i-diwān-i-risālat* which is wrong. The correct reading is *ṣāhib* instead of *hājib*, (p. 333).

⁴ V.K., p. 193.

⁵ *History of the Saracens*, p. 414.

⁶ *Baihaqī*, pp. 164, 165, 333, etc.,

⁷ Also styled *munshī-i-ḥaḍrat*, e.g., 'Utbi, pp. 362-363.

and religious establishments was under the *qāḍī-i-mumālīk* in most of the Muslim states of the period. It is not certain what name it was given by the Ghaznavids; indeed a historian of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's life and exploits does not even mention it in his list of the main government departments.¹ A Muslim government had twofold functions: it exercised control in mundane matters and it also ministered to spiritual needs. The former was the kingly function and was called *saṭṭanah*; the latter was a continuation of the prophetic mission, the *risālat*. When the sultans of Delhī organized a partially self-contained department of religious affairs and pious foundations as distinguished from the department of justice, they could not have fixed on a happier name than *dīwān-i-risālat*. What had hitherto been called by this name was now called *dīwān-i-inshā*. Every order emanating from the sovereign was first drafted in this department and then taken to him for sanction, after which it was copied in a register and dispatched.² The *dabīr-i-khāṣ* was always at hand so that he could be summoned to draft an urgent letter or even take down notes of any conversation worth recording.³ It was he who wrote the grandiloquent descriptions of conquests which were termed 'letters of victory' and sent to neighbouring courts and important cities of the realm, where they were read out to the public to impress the people with their sovereign's prowess in war.⁴ These *fath-nāmahs* were collected in volumes like any other literary works; they served as models to aspiring *dabīrs* and others who, unfortunately, introduced the rhetoric and bombast of these proclamations into sober prose.⁵ Such was the familiarity acquired by the *dabīr-i-khāṣ* with the affairs of state that his

¹ Nāzīm, p. 130.

² V.K., pp. 193, 194. *Mez.*, (p. 77) points out that the same department was called *dīwān-u'r-rasā'il* under the Abbasids and *dīwān-u'l-inshā* under the Fatimids.

³ *Qābūs-nāmah*, pp. 156, 157; *Baranī*, p. 95.

⁴ *Tāj*, ff. 59b, 81a, 142a, etc.; *Baranī*, pp. 91, 361, etc.; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letters LXXV, XCIX.

⁵ *E.g.*, 'Utbi, p. 23; *Baranī*, pp. 91, 361.

post sometimes proved a stepping stone to the *wizārat*.¹ Indeed some sovereigns confided more in their secretaries than in their *wazīrs* and often the *dabīr* was required to collect secret information regarding the doings of the prime minister.²

The royal commands issuing from the *diwān-i-inshā* were classified according to their nature and importance. It appears that all grants of land were sealed with the royal *ṭughrā*, the sovereign's name and titles elaborated in a highly ornamental form.³ Such a document was called *farmān-i-ṭughrā* and was registered in the *wazīr's* office.⁴ All administrative orders were sealed with the royal motto, called *tauqī*; these included appointment orders, new ordinances and directions to officers, and were known as *aḥkāṁ-i-tauqī*.⁵ Minor orders were issued by the departments concerned under their own seal. If the sovereign wanted to show special favour to a noble or attach urgent importance to a matter, he would add a few words in his own handwriting.⁶ The *farmāns* were dispatched by the *khariṭahdār*; his *diwān*, which was a branch of the *diwān-i-inshā*, was given by Muḥammad bin Tughluq the name of *diwān-i-ṭalab-i-aḥkāṁ-i-tauqī*.⁷ The *khariṭahdār* was only a subordinate officer and does not seem to have had direct access to the sultan. Two members of the *diwān-i-inshā* acted as the sultan's private secretaries and dealt with his private correspondence.⁸ Each of them was styled *kātib-i-khāṣ*.

¹ *Qābūs-nāmah*, p. 158.

² *Qābūs-nāmah*, pp. 156, 157. The *dabīr-i-khāṣ* was assisted by several *dabīrs* who were styled in accordance with their duties; hence one comes across terms like *shab-nawīs* (the writer for the night), *khāṣah-nawīs* (personal writer), etc.; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letters LXXXII, LXXXIII.

³ For reproductions of some *ṭughrās* belonging to the Mughuls, *vide Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1938, plate V.

⁴ *Baranī*, p. 470; *Minhāj*, p. 127; *Baihaqī*, p. 9.

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 439.

⁶ *Baihaqī*, p. 6.

⁷ *Baranī*, p. 470. *Khariṭah*=a bag in Arabic; used for silk or leather bags used as envelopes. He was also in charge of stationery; I.B., ii, p. 65 mentions a *khariṭahdār* who was the governor of Hānsī and Sarawati.

⁸ *Qaṣā'id-i-Badr-i-Chāch*, p. 14.

A minister of great importance was the *barīd-i-mumālīk* who was the head of the state news-agency. It was his duty to keep himself informed of all that was happening in the empire; ubiquitous agents reported all news which had any significance or importance.¹ The headquarters of every administrative sub-division had a local *barīd* who sent regular news-letters to the central office.² Men of known probity and honesty were appointed to this post; sometimes learned men with an outstanding reputation for piety and impartiality were forced to accept it against their will as a matter of public duty.³ So great was the responsibility that if a *barīd* failed to report a misdeed or some act of gross injustice committed by a well placed official, he sometimes paid for his shortcoming with his life.⁴ There are instances when *barīds* exercised great ingenuity in sending messages in spite of the vigilance of a rebel chief.⁵ Nothing was outside the cognizance of the *barīd*: he was the confidential agent of the central government to report on every aspect of public administration. The government officials, the condition and finances of the area under his jurisdiction, the state of agriculture, the welfare of the peasants and the purity of the coinage alike came under his secret investigation. He was present at reviews of troops so that he might send his own impressions to the court. He attended all important functions, kept his informers everywhere, and let nothing escape his argus-eyed vigilance. Having gathered all the information he could, he classified it and put it into separate reports so that each document could be referred by the central office or the monarch to the department concerned.⁶ This system of universal espionage assured the

¹ A.M., ff. 41b, 42.

² V.K., pp. 230-232.

³ *Baranī*, p. 45; *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 43.

⁴ E.g., *Baranī*, p. 40. The *barīd* was hanged because he failed to report a misdeed of a governor. Also, *Tuzūkāt-i-Tīmūrī*, p. 168.

Baihaqī, p. 398.

⁵ V.K., p. 232; A.M., ff. 41b-42b.

obedience of the provincial governors to the central government so long as the sovereign was strong enough to deal with powerful nobles who were inclined to be refractory.¹ It also provided a safeguard against the oppression of the people by the officials : indeed it was one of the most important functions of the *barīd* to report any instance of oppression.² (A well-organized news-agency was a prime necessity for the successful administration of justice in the realm since thus the monarch got prompt news of the deeds of his servants ; hence the department was compared to the windows in a house which admit light from the outside.³ Muslim writers on politics hold that it is an act of piety to take up the responsibilities of a *barīd* and discharge them properly.⁴ It was not surprising, therefore, that only men of recognized worth were appointed. They were required to investigate all matters fully and report 'the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth'.⁵ The post was well paid, for it was wisely considered necessary to keep the *barīd* immune from the temptation of accepting bribes.⁶)

This system was based on the conception of a monarch as the embodiment of benevolent vigilance. Its history. A big empire in those days of meagre communications had to invest its local officials with considerable power which could be misused in oppression or rebellion ; therefore it was essential that an institution be devised to keep the centre informed of all that was happening in the provinces. Muslim writers recognized the antiquity of the system.⁷ Later investigation has shown that even the Achæmenid emperors of ancient Persia had officers known as 'the king's eyes and ears' who went to the distant corners of the empire to make investigations and report to the court.⁸

¹ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, pp. 68-69.

² *Idem*, p. 58.

³ *Tauqī'āt-i-Kisrā*, f. 31b.

⁴ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 42.

⁵ A.M., f. 42a. These words are mine. ⁶ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 58. ⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ancient Persia and Ancient Persian Civilization*, pp. 74-75.

The system was revived by Mu'āwiyah; the Abbasids attached great importance to the *barid* and an early ruler of that dynasty is reported to have called him 'a pillar of the state.'¹ The Ghaznavids had the department, from whom it was adopted by the Ghurids.² Quṭb-u'd dīn Aibak possessed his staff of news-writers, so the sultanate of Dehlī had its *barids* from the beginning.³ Like some other departments, the system appears to have deteriorated under the Shamsī rulers, but Balban developed it to its utmost capacity, and his success in enforcing obedience and order can be partly attributed to a well-organized news-agency.⁴ 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī also depended for the success of his reforms on a highly developed system of espionage.⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah pays a high tribute to the efficiency of the news service under Muḥammad bin Tughluq.⁶ The Lodīs and the Sūrs also developed to a high level their means of securing information; indeed Sikandar Lodī was credited with supernatural powers in this respect by some of his subjects.⁷

In no Muslim country did the central government depend only upon the *barid* for secret information; the state also employed a large number of actual spies who attached themselves to princely households or wandered about the land as travellers, traders or religious mendicants.⁸ These men mixed with the populace and acquainted themselves with the views of the people on various matters, so discovering secrets which official agencies did not possess. It was particularly important to keep an eye on the doings of powerful chiefs and nobles;

¹ A.M., f. 42a, says it was the second caliph; V.K., p. 226, says it was the third.

² *Bahāqī*, pp. 85, 139, etc.

³ *Tāj*, f. 183a.

⁴ *Baranī*, p. 45.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 318-319.

⁶ I.B., II, pp. 2, 3.

⁷ *Dā'ūdī*, ff. 37b, 38a, 103b; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, (i), p. 337; (ii), p. 106.

⁸ *Nāẓim*, pp. 144-145; *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 68; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 53.

Nāẓim erroneously believes that the *mushrif-i-mumālīk* was the head of the spy system. This is based on a wrong interpretation of the word *mushrif*.

nor were the neighbouring courts immune from attention.¹ Ambassadors and messengers sent to foreign princes were instructed to keep their eyes open and gather as much information as they could.² Sometimes trustworthy courtiers were sent in disguise as special spies to investigate some complicated affair.³ The knowledge that there were spies abroad who would be sending reports to the monarch kept the regular news-writers efficient and careful. It seems that there was a body of spies attached to the court, but the other secret agents were probably under the control of the central *barīd* office. No separate controlling agency is mentioned under the sultans of Dehlī.

The foregoing, together with the *wakīl-i-dar*, were the principal ministers who were in charge of well-organized *dīwāns* or secretarial offices. There were other officers, whose posts did not involve so much clerical work, in charge of certain subordinate departments of the administration. They too had direct access to the sultan but they cannot be styled ministers in the proper sense of the word. To this class belonged the *amīr-i-dād* who looked after the executive side of judicial business and the *kotwāl* who was responsible for maintaining peace. These officials enjoyed great prestige and occupied eminent positions in the order of precedence at court. Their voice carried considerable weight in the sultan's councils. The ministers were servants of the crown and responsible only to the sultan. Muslim political writers postulate that the more important ministers should be acquainted with the *shar'* so that they might not be accomplices in illegal exactions or injustice, but there was no method by which their protest could be made immediately effective.⁴ There

¹ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, pp. 68, 69. I.B. (ii. p. 66) says, "It is customary among the monarchs of India that they keep a slave as a spy with every noble; similarly there are slave girls in every noble's household who pass on the information to the sweepers. They, in their turn, report everything to a superior official." ² *Idem*, p. 87. ³ *Idem*, p. 119. ⁴ A.M., ff. 40a, b.

are instances where ministers threatened to resign with good effect.¹ Mostly, however, the ministers would rather acquiesce. A minister's actual power depended on his own capability and the influence he wielded over the sovereign; the wiser monarchs knew the worth of an efficient minister and were willing to yield to him if he expressed his views emphatically. There was no question of the ministers acting as a team to resist the sultan's will. They had little force at their command to coerce a monarch, nor did they form a class with special privileges like the nobles. In the council, too, they were outnumbered by powerful and strong nobles. There was no council of ministers; the sultan's full council was attended by far too many people to be a proper instrument either of deliberation or of conducting business.² Real business was transacted in the informal consultations which the monarch had with his chosen counsellors. To these meetings the sultan invited only the officials concerned and his most trustworthy advisers who were not necessarily ministers. Some of them were high military officials or dignitaries of the royal household.

Under the caliph a'r-Rāḍī, the *wazīr* was supplanted by the *amīr-u'l-umarā*. This change upset the legal theories, though the jurists could say with some justification that the chief noble now enjoyed the authority of the *wazīr-u't-tafwīd*.³ The office soon found a place in the hierarchy of Muslim states. In the Sultanate of Dehli, a noble was generally selected to be the *nā'ib-u'l-mulk* or lord lieutenant of the realm, but his authority varied according to the character of the monarch. Sometimes it was an empty title; at other times it invested the holder with practically absolute authority.⁴ He was the head of the military organization and

¹ E.g., *Khaṇ Jahān*, 'Afif, p. 405. ² 'Afif, pp. 277-280. ³ V.K., p. 226.

⁴ He was also called *malik nā'ib*. Of the first type was Qutb-u'd-dīn 'Alau under Sultān Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī (*Baranī*, p. 202) and of the latter Balban before he became the sultan (*Baranī*, p. 26), and Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin under Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahram (*Minhāj*, pp. 191, 192).

was entrusted with the government of the centrally administered areas.¹ A noble was selected to act as *nā'ib-i-ghaibat* during the absence of the sultan.² This official was the representative of the sovereign at the capital and dealt with all emergent and routine business. Powerful though these two deputies were, they were not ministers in the strict sense of the word; yet, except for the *wazīrs* with unlimited powers, no minister enjoyed so much authority. The ordinary ministers were only strong as heads of departments.

¹ S. A., pp. 67, 68; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 30, 31; these authorities call him *amriyat*.

² *Baranī*, pp. 85, 213, etc. Muḥammad bin Tughluq put the office in commission; *Tārikh-i-Alfī*, ii, f. 99.

CHAPTER VI

FINANCE

(THE importance of sound state finance was widely recognized by Muslim political thinkers as well as administrators ; solvency and stability were to go hand in hand.¹) The sources of income and the channels of expenditure were, on the whole, well defined. The sultanate of Dehlī organized the main features of its financial administration on the lines laid down by the *shar'* and the Abbasid tradition. By the time the system reached India, it had been carefully elaborated and its principles were clearly understood. Indigenous finance was not very different and the Hindus did not find it difficult to adjust minor differences of detail.

According to the jurists a Muslim state has two sources of revenue : religious and secular. The former can be demanded only from Muslims, for non-Muslims have no obligation to observe the tenets of Islam. The religious taxes are grouped under the name of *zakāt*, so called because a Muslim purifies himself of greed and avarice by sharing his property with the poor and needy.² It is an act of piety to pay *zakāt*; this religious obligation must be enforced by the *imām*, for it is based on a clear injunction of the Qur'ān.³ The *zakāt* is payable on gold or silver, herds and merchandise, provided such belongings reach or exceed a certain limit called a

¹ A.M., f. 33b ; *Naṣā'ih Shāh Rukhī*, f. 198a ; *Inshā-i-Mahrū*, Letter II ; *Tāj*, p. 145a. ² *Aghnides*, p. 200. ³ *Holy Qur'ān*, p. 681, note 1713.

⁴ *Idem*, v. 55. This makes *zakāt* a *farḍ* or compulsory.

niṣāb.¹ The *zakāt* when assessed on value or weight is one-fortieth of the property; the doctors have elaborate tables regarding the *zakāt* on pasture animals, though the general principle underlying these tables is to secure a fortieth for the exchequer. The property on which *zakāt* is assessed should have been in the possession of the owner for at least one year.² Firūz Shāh includes *zakāt* in the list of regular state demands. *Fiqh-i-Firūz Shāhī* mentions a separate treasury for *zakāt*.³ The *zakāt* on land and imports will be discussed later.

The secular taxes are *kharāj*, *jiziyah*, the tax on non-Muslim traders, and imposts on spoils of war, on mines and on treasure-trove. The government also sequestered the estates of persons dying intestate and without heirs.⁴ *Kharāj* will be discussed later.

The *jiziyah*, or poll-tax, was levied only from non-Muslims as the cash equivalent "of the assistance which they would be liable to give if they had not persisted in their unbelief, because living as they do in the Muslim state, they must be ready to defend it."⁵ Military service was, theoretically, compulsory on all Muslims, and the sultan, as the representative of the caliph, could call upon any Muslim to defend the state. This religious duty did not affect non-Muslims because they were not bound by the law of Islam; hence they were required to pay tax in lieu of military service. Naturally the tax was not imposed on those who fought in Muslim armies. The theory advanced by some that the *jiziyah* is a payment for the privilege of living in a Muslim state is obviously wrong, for if it were true, the tax would have been levied on women and children. The latter are, however, exempt, because they would not be required to fight even if they were Muslims.⁶

¹ *Hidāyah*, p. 2. The *niṣāb* is very low, e.g., 52 tolaḥs 6 māshahs of silver forms a *niṣāb*. ² *Aghnides*, pp. 206-207, 249-254; *Sulūk-u'l-mudabbir*, f. 79.

³ *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*, f. 300b; *Fiqh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, f. 410a.

⁴ *Aghnides*, p. 202.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 399.

⁶ *Aghnides*, p. 399.

The Qur'ān uses the word *jiziyah*, like *ḵharāj*, to mean a tax and early writers do not attach any technical significance to the term.¹ The *jiziyah*, however, was soon levied as a capitation tax; as such it was borrowed from Persia where it was called *gezīt*. The Romans also had imposed a poll-tax on those who were not Roman citizens. Those liable to pay *jiziyah* were assessed in three classes. Imbecile old men, cripples, the blind and those who had not enough to pay the tax after defraying the cost of their living were excused; monks and priests, if they did not work to earn their living and devoted all their time to worship and devotion, were also exempt. The lowest class paid a *dīnār*, the middle two *dīnārs* and the richest four *dīnārs* per head per annum.² The Hindus were first recognized as *dhimmis* and *mu'āhids*, or allies and protected people, by Muḥammad bin Qāsim on his conquest of Sind, and he imposed on them the *jiziyah* in accordance with the rates universally recognized in the Muslim world.³ The sultans of Dehlī assessed this tax in their own money, and charged ten, twenty and forty *tankahs* respectively.⁴ The Brahmans as monks and priests were exempt. Firūz Shāh, after consulting the 'ulamā, levied the tax from them as well; probably he did not recognize men of the Brahman caste who did not devote themselves exclusively to religious pursuits as monks and priests. This measure, however, caused considerable unrest in the capital. The sultan remained firm and ultimately the rich Hindus of Dehlī undertook to pay for these Brahmans. On a subsequent representation, the sultan reduced the tax on the richer Brahmans to ten *tankahs* of fifty *jitals* each.⁵ This is the only occasion on record in the history of the sultanate when the imposition of *jiziyah* was resented, so the assessment must

¹ Even when the term *jiziyah* was given a technical meaning, it continued to be used loosely for 'tax' as well as 'tribute', e.g., *Qirān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 35; D A, p. 66.

² *Encyclopædia of Islām*, vol. i, p. 1051.

³ *Chach-nāmah*, pp. 208, 209.

⁴ *Afif*, p. 383.

⁵ *Afif*, pp. 382-384.

have been lenient.¹ Besides, a poll-tax was not unfamiliar to the Hindus. For instance, under the Gaharwar dynasty of Kanauj, a tax called *Turushkadanda* was levied either from the Hindus to defend the kingdom from the Muslims or from Muslims who were resident in the kingdom.² Even in Tod's days a poll-tax of a rupee per head was levied in some Rājput states.³ There is nothing in the chronicles to support a modern view that 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī neither exacted *jiziyah* from Hindus nor recognized them as *dhimmīs*; a subject who was neither a Muslim nor a *dhimmī* could not reside in a Muslim state.⁴ Actually 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī, in his conversation with Qādī Mughīth, did not contradict him when he used the word *dhimmī* for the Hindus.⁵

The *zakāt* on imports was a fortieth of the value of the merchandise; on horses it was 5 per cent. Import duties. These charges were doubled in the case of non-Muslim traders.⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah found that the sultanate charged a quarter as duty on all imports, but he affirms that it was reduced later by Muḥammad bin Tughluq to the legal ratio.⁷ Probably the sultan had increased the import duty when his finances worried him; the restoration of the legal proportion must have been the result of a decrease in revenue owing to the adverse effect of his enhanced impost on trade. Sikandar Lodī, owing to a transient shortage of corn, abolished the *zakāt* on grain and it was not renewed by any subsequent sultan.⁸ Some sultans were not content with this tax and levied a cess called *dāngānah*, which is mentioned among the taxes abolished by Firūz Shāh. When the *zakāt* had been assessed in the *sarāi 'adl*, on the commodities brought for sale, they were taken to another warehouse called *ḍaribah* or *khaẓīnah*, where they were weighed again.

¹ This view is supported by Tripathi: *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, pp. 290-291. ² *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 67, 68.

³ *Rājasthān*, p. 1116.

⁴ *Sociology of Islam*, II, p. 263. The author states that 'Alā-u'd-dīn refused to levy *jiziyah* from the Hindus because he refused to accord them the status of *dhimmīs*. ⁵ *Baranī*, p. 290.

⁶ *Aghnides*, p. 318; *Hidāyah*, pp. 7-14, D.A., pp. 68, 69.

⁷ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, I, p. 210.

⁸ *Mir'at-i-jahān-numā*, f. 294a.

A fresh tax of a *dāng* on every *tankah* of their assessed value was levied, which comes to about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., not crippling in amount but vexatious in method.¹

The spoils of war are called *ghanimah*. Legally all booty *Ghanimah*, مال غنيمه should be collected, and a fifth set apart for the state, the rest being equitably distributed among the soldiers. It is lawful for the sultan or the commander-in-chief to select an animal, a sword, or some other article which particularly pleases him for his own use before the division of the spoils. This is called *safiyah*, and is not taken into consideration at the time of division.² The portion which goes to the public exchequer is legally called *khums*. Gradually (a practice grew up in the sultanate of Dehli that a fifth was distributed among the soldiers and four-fifths kept in the treasury; Firūz Shāh's 'ulamā considered it illegal and the sultan re-established the old system.³ When the booty was distributed a cavalryman was given twice and sometimes thrice as much as a foot soldier.⁴

According to the Hanafi school of jurisprudence, whose Mines and treasure tenets mostly found favour in India, the state was entitled to a fifth of all minerals, provided they were solid, and capable of being melted and bearing an imprint. The Shāfi'is maintain that no tax is due on minerals and the Mālikis hold that *zakāt* should be paid, even though a year has not elapsed since their extraction. The same principle applied to treasure trove, of which a fifth had to be paid to the state and the rest belonged to the finder, irrespective of his being a Muslim or a *dhimmi*. If the land did not belong to the finder, then the land owner was entitled to four-fifths of the treasure and the rest went to the state. The state claimed a share only of unstamped bullion or of money minted before the conquest of the area by Muslims.⁵ The argument was

¹ 'Afif, p. 375, 4 *dāngs* = 1 *jūal*.

² A.M., ff. 111-113.

³ *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 6; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter XV, *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 126.

⁴ A.M., f. 113a; D.A., p. 57.

⁵ *Aghnides*, pp. 415-419; *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*, f. 300b. Such a treasure trove was technically called *rikāz*; D.A., p. 32.

that the treasure would have formed part of the spoils of war if it had not been hidden. Sultān Sikandar Lodī twice refused to take any portion of treasure trove discovered in his reign; probably the coins bore Islamic legends.¹ This law had its counterpart in the Hindu *nīti-shāstras*.² Kautilya holds that all treasure trove belongs to the king, but Viṣṇū takes a more lenient view and allows a small share to the finder; according to the latter, the Brahmans may keep the whole.³ Viṣṇū lays down that a king is entitled to the entire product of mines.⁴

(The property of Muslims dying intestate and without heirs belonged entirely to the state; Heirless property. the property of a *dhimmī* dying in similar circumstances was handed over to his community.)

(The main source of income, indeed the backbone of Indian finance, has always been the land Land revenue. revenue. In Muslim states all cultivated land was legally classified for the purposes of assessment of land revenue. The main classifications were (i) '*ushrī*', (ii) '*kharājī*', and (iii) '*ṣulhī*'; other classifications have not received such universal recognition. '*Ushrī* lands were (i) the land of Jazīrat-u'l-'arab; (ii) all lands whose owners accepted Islam of their own accord and were left in possession of their estates; (iii) all lands conquered by force and distributed among Muslim soldiers; (iv) habitations of Muslims converted into gardens, provided they are irrigated with tithe water or alternately with '*ushrī*' and '*kharājī*' water; (v) waste lands developed by Muslims with the *imām*'s permission, provided they are, according to Abū Yūsuf, in an '*ushrī*' district or, according to Muḥammad ibn-u'l-Ḥasan, if they have been fertilised with tithe water.) There is difference of opinion regarding a '*kharājī*' estate bought by a Muslim: Abū Ḥanīfah thinks it remains '*kharājī*', whereas

¹ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 26a. ² *Viṣṇū*, iii, pp. 55-64. The shares vary according to the caste of the finder. ³ *Evolution of Indian Polity*, p. 173.

⁴ *Mez*, p. 112; *D.A.*, p. 68.

⁵ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, pp. 293, 294; *D.A.*, pp. 60, 61.

Mālik thinks it becomes '*ushrī*'.¹ If a *dhimmī* buys '*ushrī*' land, it becomes *kharājī*, and, according to Abū Yūsuf, the *kharāj* is twice the amount of '*ushr*', that is, a fifth of the produce.² In instances of *nīm* '*ushrī*' land, the new owner would pay a tenth.³ This classification requires a definition of '*ushrī*' water. Rivers, lakes, springs, and wells sunk in the first three categories of '*ushrī*' lands, also any water which has not come under the jurisdiction of authority are '*ushrī*'. *Kharājī* water is that situated in *kharājī* lands; also that of wells, canals or reservoirs constructed by non-Muslim kings or at the expense of the public exchequer, and that of rivers controlled by human agency.⁴ /The rate charged on '*ushrī*' lands is uniform; for produce irrigated by rain or flood water and for wild fruit, the growing of which does not require exceptional labour, it is a tenth; where the crops have to be irrigated with buckets or wheels, thus requiring extra hard work, the rate is one-twentieth of the produce.⁵ There is some difference of opinion whether a *niṣāb* is necessary before '*ushr*' can be charged. Abū Ḥanīfah thinks that cultivated crops and wild fruit should pay the '*ushr*' irrespective of their quantity, but the other *imāms* as well as his own disciples say that a minimum forming a *niṣāb* is necessary.⁶ All the jurists agree that '*ushr*' should be charged on honey.⁷)

Later writers on the agrarian system under the sultans of Dehlī do not mention the existence of '*ushr*' in India. '*ushrī*' lands. It is true that the extent of these areas was not great, but there can be no doubt about their existence.⁸ Muḥammad bin Qāsim recognized the lands of all who accepted Islam as '*ushrī*'.⁹ Similarly Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak commanded that all the lands possessed by Muslims should be treated as '*ushrī*' and be

¹ *Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhī*, f. 414.

² *Aghnides*, p. 373.

³ Many jurists however hold that a fifth is the minimum; *vide infra*

⁴ *Aghnides*, pp. 359, 360; *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, ff. 93b-97a.

⁵ *Hidāyah*, p. 17.

⁶ *Aghnides*, pp. 289-291.

⁷ *Hidāyah*, p. 18.

⁸ *Chach-nāmah*, f. 139a.

required to pay only a tenth or a twentieth of the produce as revenue.¹ This order probably applied to the region of Lāhor, though it may have extended to that part of the Panjāb which was formerly under the Ghaznavids. 'Ushrī lands continued to exist under the later sultans. Fīrūz Shāh definitely mentions 'ushr : the jurists of his reign pronounced decisions on questions relating to 'ushrī lands; the *Tuhfat-u'l-kirām* records that the jurists had defined certain areas as 'ushrī.² ✓

Before discussing the *kharājī* lands, it will be better to dismiss those termed *ṣulḥī*. This appellation is used in a technical sense for certain areas regarding which the earlier Muslims reached some agreement with their owners. Such lands were outside India, and, therefore, need not detain us.³ Some authors mention yet another variety called *ard-i-mumlikat*: conquered lands or those obtained by treaty and taken over by the public exchequer.⁴ Such lands could not be owned by private individuals; those who tilled them were merely tenants and could not sell them, give them away or convert them into *waqfs*.⁵ This class is not mentioned by any Indian authority; it never existed in India. Financially, this *ard-i-mumlikat* has no importance and much resembles *kharājī* land.

The word *kharāj*, in its Aramaic form, precedes the birth of the Prophet.⁶ The earlier Muslims used the term *Kharāj* in the sense of a tax, but later it came to be identified with land revenue. All lands conquered by force and not divided among the Muslim soldiers but left to their non-Muslim owners or given to non-Muslim settlers from elsewhere are *kharājī* lands.⁷

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh*, pp. 33, 34.

² *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 6; *Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhī*, ff. 410-420; *Tuhfat-u'l-kirām*, f. 253a; D.A., pp. 30, 60, 61.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, pp. 293-294.

⁴ *Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhī*, ff. 415-418.

⁵ *Aghnides*, p. 376.

⁶ *Kharāj*, used also by the Persians; *Ancient Persia and Ancient Persian Civilization*, pp. 157, 158.

⁷ *Aghnides*, pp. 366-368; *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 294.

Besides, if a *dhimmī* buys '*ushrī* land, it becomes *kharājī*.¹ If the owner of *kharājī* land turns Muslim, his land remains *kharājī*.² Land developed by Muslims with *kharājī* water is also *kharājī*.³ All the water carried in channels dug or controlled by the state is *kharājī*; so is water contained in reservoirs built with public money.⁴

Muslim writers divide *kharāj* into two kinds: (i) *kharāj-i-waṣīfah*, and (ii) *kharāj-i-muqāsimah*.⁵ The first term is applied to a demand in money and kind per unit area fixed according to the species of the crops grown. The rates are those applied by the caliph 'Umar to the lands of Sawād in 'Irāq and cannot be increased.⁶ However, if the *kharāj-i-waṣīfah* exceeds half the produce, the demand should be reduced, for the *shar'* does not allow the state to take more than half.⁷ Under the rule of the Abbasid caliphs the method of taking a certain proportion of the produce called *kharāj-i-muqāsimah* became more popular and was widely adopted.⁸ According to the jurists the state's share ranges from a tenth to a half.⁹ They take into account such considerations as the nature of the soil, the means of irrigation and the distance from the market. However, the *imām's* authority is final, so long as the outside limit of a half is not exceeded.¹⁰ Much deference was paid to local usage in existence before the Muslim conquest. Even 'Umar's demand was based on ancient custom, and Muslim conquerors did not disturb the *status quo* so long as it did not come into conflict with their sacred law and sense of justice.

In Hindu India the basic principle that the cultivator must pay a proportion of his produce to the state was universally recognized and Hindu notions.

¹ *Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhī*, f. 416.

² *Idem*, f. 410b; D.A., p. 64.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 294; D.A., p. 64. ⁴ *Aghnides*, p. 360; D.A., p. 64.

⁵ *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, f. 93b.

⁶ *Aghnides*, p. 379. ⁷ *Idem*, p. 380.

⁸ Manṣūr had to introduce *muqāsimah* in 'Irāq as well owing to the change in prices, J. Z., p. 137; *History of the Saracens*, p. 427.

⁹ *Aghnides*, p. 378. According to Abū Yūsuf, a *dhimmī* buying nīm '*ushrī* land pays a tenth; *Aghnides*, p. 373.

¹⁰ *Idem*, pp. 379-382; *Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhī*, f. 418a.

the *nīti-shāstras* freely acknowledge the right of the king to levy it: the fundamental idea of *kharāj* was firmly rooted in Hindu society.¹ It is natural that the state should devise various methods of settling the claims of the ruler upon the cultivator. (The simplest and the most primitive, yet the safest and the most just, method would be to divide the actual produce when it was ready. If the state were small, like an ancient city state, this method would be ideal; but in larger states it would not work satisfactorily.) It would mean the employment of a large staff at harvest time when, in an agricultural community, labour would be practically unavailable. If the staff were not inordinately large, there would be delay in dividing the produce; and in unfavourable weather, great loss would result both to the state and to the cultivator. Besides, the system would be almost entirely unworkable in case of perishable articles. (But so long as actual sharing is the method adopted it may be done in several ways; weighing, forming equal heaps, or dividing the cultivated area would all be feasible. In all such methods of sharing, the basic difficulty of finding a numerous staff persists) and there is the strong probability of the crops suffering on account of inclement weather while they are waiting for division or collection. To remedy this, and to spread the work over a longer period so that a small whole-time staff may be kept employed, a new method was devised. (Experienced men with expert knowledge estimated the probable produce by inspecting the crops before harvest.) With practice these estimates would become almost accurate; it would also be possible to appraise the value of the crops at an early stage. (This system may be called 'appraisement'. To see that no injustice is done, the peasant would generally have the right to insist on actual sharing if he was dissatisfied.) A subsidiary growth of this system would be that, if the peasant so desired, he might buy the share of the state, which in actual practice meant the payment of

¹ *Shukranīti*, p. 149; *Vishnū*, iii, pp. 22, 23, etc.

the state demand in cash at the current price. If there are no violent changes caused either by political revolutions or natural calamities, both the peasant and the state would come to know how much they could expect from certain crops in a particular area, and would find it simpler to fix a demand on the basis of past experience which would resolve itself into the well-known method of a fixed quantity, or even a sum of money, per unit of area for each kind of crop. The state would then have schedules of rates for the different crops grown on various kinds of soil. This system mainly depends on 'measurement' and should be called by that name.¹ When prices change or a political or natural calamity devastates a region, it would be necessary to alter the arrangement, and sharing or appraisement may again come into force. We find all three methods of sharing, appraisement and measurement existing in different parts of India, sometimes side by side.² Even in the days of Akbar these methods had preserved their Hindi names which are recorded in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* and point to the existence of the systems in pre-Muslim days.³ Fortunately, however, there is positive evidence in some of the *Jātakas* which enables writers on Hindu polity to say with certainty that sharing, appraisement and measurement existed in India before the Muslim conquest.⁴

There was nothing in these methods which could be repugnant to Islamic law. (Sharing was the same as *ḵharāj-i-muqāsimah*. Appraisement was only a development of sharing; it was technically called *ḥazr*.⁵ The Muslims had come to recognize a custom which had grown up under the Abbasids called *ḵharāj-i-muqāṭi'ah*, under which the peasant paid a sum of money or a quantity in kind fixed for a term of years.⁶ This

¹ Moreland, p. 7.

² I am indebted for most of these ideas to Moreland and *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Book iii, *Ā'in* v.

⁴ *Agūrian System in Ancient India*, pp. 26, 27.

⁵ D.A., p. 50.

⁶ *History of the Saracens*, pp. 427, 428.

says that it was no longer necessary to take into account calamities and differentiate between the areas which had produced a harvest and those which had not.¹) This is really an important statement, and in spite of its cryptic nature shows that not only was the area where the crops had failed set apart so that no revenue be charged on it, but some allowance was also made for partial failure.² The method of leaving a margin in favour of the peasant was not unknown as is shown by Sher Shāh's maxim that one should be liberal at the time of assessment and strict at the time of collection; but it is doubtful if no concession followed a moderate assessment at the time of collection.³ It was also necessary for the state to compile schedules for different regions giving the standard demand for each.⁴ These schedules must have been based on past experience and revised from time to time. A schedule of Sher Shāh has been preserved by Abū'l-Faḍl.⁵ Former schedules which have perished must have contributed to the knowledge of subsequent administrators. An examination of Sher Shāh's schedule shows that the state demand

¹ *Baranī*, p. 429. The words are "محدثات و قسماآت بود و نابود". *Moreland*, p. 227 translates محدثات as 'innovations'; there was no innovation in the rule of measurement, which was older than Muslim rule in India. *Sīrat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 124, uses محدثات for taxes. The meaning which suits the text better is given by D.A., p. 36 which defines محدث as anything charged on agriculture beyond the customary demand or with severity. This applies admirably to 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's demand.

قسماآت (*qismāt*) is obviously the same as تقسماآت (*taqsimāt*) in *Ā'in-i-dahsālah* (*Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, I, p. 347) which *Moreland* (p. 244) identifies with schedules. قسماآت بود و نابود, therefore, should be taken to mean 'schedules of yield' or, more accurately, 'statements of the actual produce.' These would be necessary only when concession is made for partial failure or an unexpectedly low yield.

² This was called *naẓr* which is defined by D.A. as foregoing a part or the whole of state demand, p. 36. Khusraw states that 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī remitted large sums of money; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 15.

³ *Sarwānī*, ff. 8b, 9a. D.A., p. 36 mentions such concession which was technically called *musāmaḥat*.

⁴ In Firūz Shāh's reign a schedule was called *qānūn*, D.A., p. 35.

⁵ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Book iii, *Ā'in xi*.

was based on average produce. This was calculated by adding the best, the middling and the lowest yields and dividing the total by three.¹ It was the existence of such schedules in local areas which made it possible to value whole *parganahs* for the purpose of assignments. Besides, 'Abbās Sarwānī mentions a very significant fact. "Before Sher Shāh's time," says the chronicler, "it was not the custom to measure the land, but there was a *qānūngū* in every *parganah*, from whom was ascertained the present, past and probable future state of the *parganah*."² This statement may be regarded as true for the period just preceding Sher Shāh's reign, and the method was probably taken over by the Mughuls under Bābur and Humāyūn. The *qānūngū* must have possessed statements showing the areas cultivated, the crops grown, and, what is more important, the average yield per unit area of the various kinds of land.³ On the basis of these schedules, a fairly equitable assessment could be made without fresh measurement, for reasonably full data must have been available. It is quite obvious that there must have been different schedules for the different parts of the sultanate. A single schedule could not work for regions which differ so greatly in the nature of soil, rainfall and other climatic conditions.

It should not be thought that the system of measurement can work only when the state demand is paid in cash. There is nothing in the system to make it necessary for the cultivator to pay in money, for the basic principle is the fixing of the average produce per unit area. Its resemblance to *khārāj-i-muqāṭi'ah* consists in the fixity of the demand for a certain period, but measurement ensures a more equitable arrangement between the state

¹ For a *Sikandari bigah*, good produce in wheat=18 *mans*; middling=12 *mans*; bad=8 *mans* 35 *ser*s; total=38 *mans* 35 *ser*s; divide by three; average produce=12 *mans* 38½ *ser*s; the figure adopted is 12 *mans* 38½ *ser*s. *Vide* Appendix C.

² E. and D., iv, p. 414.

³ The *qānūngū* was the repository of *qānūns*, or schedules of customary demand.

and the cultivator.¹ The state could realize its share of the average produce either in kind or in money. The demand could be fixed in grain and then the state could ask for money at the current level of prices ; or the share of the state could be defined in money on the basis of prices prevailing over a certain period in the past.² The ancient Hindu system seems to have been a combination of the two systems ; the state demanded part of the revenue in kind called *bhāga* and part of it in cash called *hirānya*, or some paid the one and some the other.³ The sultanate does not seem to have fixed a cash demand. There were two periods when measurement was in force in the greater part of the empire : in 'Alā-ū'd-dīn Khaljī's reign, the peasants were encouraged to pay in kind, and Sher Shāh's schedule mentions no cash basis for grain.⁴ Fīrūz Shāh persuaded peasants in certain areas to pay a half of the demand in cash and the other half in kind.⁵ In one instance, however, there must have been fixed or standard cash demands for different administrative units. It is quite obvious that the state could never accept its share of perishable products in kind ; and by their very nature, perishable articles had to be sold at widely varying prices in different localities. To work out the share of the state in a precise sum of money would involve too much work and the result would not justify the trouble. It was here that the state share was probably fixed in cash on the basis of average prices and a margin must have been left in favour of the peasant.⁶ Similarly when sharing was adopted, the revenue could be paid either in cash or kind. The state sometimes preferred the one, sometimes the other in view of its own needs or the facilities of the peasant. When 'Alā-ū'd-dīn demanded the

¹ For *kharāj-i-muqāṭi'ah*, vide *supra*.

² This process was called *tas'ir*, D.A., p. 45

³ *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 37, 38, 61, 62. The nature of *hirānya* is very controversial.

⁴ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Book iii, Ā'in xi. Vide Appendix C.

⁵ *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letters XXXI, CXXI.

⁶ A lenient assessment was necessary for the working of the system.

revenue in kind, he wanted to have a liberal supply of food-stuffs for his economic planning; when the Lodīs did the same, it was because of the scarcity of specie and the inability of the peasant to obtain a reasonable cash price for his produce.¹ Generally, however, it must have been a question of convenience and adjustment. A natural consequence of payment in kind was that the state had to maintain granaries in various parts of the empire.²

A controversial problem of this period is the proportion of the produce taken by the state. The demand under The demand under of the produce taken by the state. The Hindus, deductions of modern writers on the topic are based on inconclusive evidence. It will be helpful to examine the question in the light of Hindu tradition and Muslim law. The writers on Hindu legal theory say that the state should demand a sixth of the produce as its share; but this figure soon became a stereotyped term to denote the state demand.³ Later foreign observers like al-Bīrūnī were misled by the persistent use on the part of Hindu writers of the term 'one-sixth' for the land revenue.⁴ There is concrete proof that the state demand was higher. Oppressive assessment finds mention in the *Jātakas*, and even Kautilya increases the state demand if there were irrigation facilities.⁵ The *Shukranīti* says that one-sixth should be taken only from barren and rocky soils, whereas "the king should raise one-third, one-fourth or one-half from lands which are irrigated by tanks, canals, and wells, by rain and by rivers respectively."⁶ It is true that the date of this work is uncertain, yet the view it takes of a legitimate demand is of considerable value. A modern writer on ancient Hindu polity has estimated that the cultivator had to pay from forty to fifty-seven per cent. of his produce to the state as land revenue and irrigation charges.⁷ This is a very high charge when it is realized that

¹ Baranī, pp. 305, 306; Moreland, pp. 68, 69.

² *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*, ii, f. 32a. ³ E.g., *Viśhnū*, iii, pp. 22, 23.

⁴ *Al-Bīrūnī*, text, p. 276; *Hiuen Tsang*, i, p. 176.

⁵ *Jātaka*, iii, p. 9; v, p. 98; *Arthashastra*, p. 140.

⁶ *Shukranīti*, pp. 147, 148 ⁷ *Political Institutions of the Hindus*, p. 124.

the water was not supplied by the state, but only theoretically belonged to it.¹ The irrigation charges ranged from a fifth to a third of the produce.² This applied to Kautilya's days; it is very difficult indeed to find any fixed rule for the whole of Hindu India. New taxes and cesses grew up which were gradually added to the main demand which only nominally remained at a sixth of the produce; when old taxes were compounded by an increased land-revenue, new ones raised their head.³ Towards the end of Hindu rule in Northern India, the burden on the cultivator had grown almost unbearable, and yet in theory it was only one-sixth of the gross produce.⁴ This was the situation which faced the Muslim conquerors when they had to fix their own demand. It was a question bristling with difficulties, and it required an Alexander's sword to cut the Gordian knot.

Three factors would count most in the adoption of an agrarian policy by the Muslims: their Muslim ideas, their own background of thought and custom; their desire to meddle as little as possible with the existing system; and the natural difficulty experienced by foreigners in finding out all the intricacies of a complex system. Muslim ideas on agrarian questions are dispersed over a mass of literature, and yet there is a striking similarity of sentiment. The cultivator is the very foundation of the state, it is better to encourage him by reducing the demand than to drive him away from the land by extracting too much out of him, for if he is harshly treated, he will certainly give up cultivation.⁵ In the matter of fixing the proportion in a new country where it would be more necessary than ever to reconcile the cultivator to the state, it would be natural for the conquerors to

¹ *Arthashastra*, p. 140, footnote 5.

² *Idem.*, p. 140.

³ *Agrarian System of the Hindus*, p. 65.

⁴ *History of Medieval Hindu India*, iii, p. 140; *Political Institutions of the Hindus*, pp. 115-116; *al-Birūnī*, text, p. 276.

⁵ A.M. ff. 33b, 39a; *Qābūs-nāmah*, p. 160; *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 18; *Tāj*, (f. 144b) records instructions from Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak to a governor to reconcile a newly conquered area by reducing the state demand.

adopt the lowest scale levied on *dhimmīs* in Muslim countries.¹ This is a double '*ushr*' or a fifth of the gross produce which was not too great a departure from the theoretical one-sixth of the Hindus, particularly when the conquerors did not charge the more vexatious cesses.² The question of cesses will be discussed later ; as far as land revenue was concerned, the Muslims would rely for their information regarding Hindu custom and usage on the information given by the local officials and by their own interpreters of the Hindu law. Al-Birūnī's writings would exercise great influence on Muslim administrators. The local officials would not be too anxious to tell a foreign conqueror how much he should expect from the land ; they would be inclined to hide the possibility of a bigger revenue and to put a part of the amount thus saved into their own pockets. Thus all probabilities were in favour of the earlier sultans demanding a fifth of the produce.³

" This question, however, would have remained in the realm of conjecture but for fresh evidence which has now come to light. The *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh* says that Sultān Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak left the (landed) property of the Muslims in their hands and "abolished the *khārāj* which was taken from their lands against the *shar'* and the injunction of God and amounted to one-fifth, and fixed in some places the '*ushr*' and in other areas the *nīm-'ushr*." The writer is using legal terminology. The sultan's measure was that the Muslims were excused from *khārāj* and were henceforth asked to pay '*ushr*'; but the author also definitely informs us that the *khārāj* was one-fifth of the produce. Of course the ordinance applied to the small population of Muslims in Lāhor. Later sultans were very niggardly in recognizing new lands as '*ushrī*'; but the importance of the passage lies in the fact that it confirms the opinion that the state demand was fixed

¹ Aghnides, pp. 373, 378; *History of the Saracens*, p. 427.

² *Vide infra*; also a list of Hindu taxes given in Appendix H.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh*, pp. 33, 34.

at one-fifth of the gross produce. This is the only clear and unambiguous mention of the state demand in normal times under the sultanate of Dehli. The only other explicit mention is that 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī demanded one-half of the produce.¹ This he did in times of great difficulty, because the state had to deal with foreign invasion and internal trouble; the demand is abnormal. This excessive rate could not be continued indefinitely and we read that Sultān Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh "abolished the heavy *khārāj* and heavy demands."² It is not undue restraint which induces the usually loquacious Baranī to keep silence about the new demand; he does not mention it for there is nothing new to say. The old normal demand was restored, and the historian has left us to infer this.

The next monarch to interest himself in agrarian matters was Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq, the description of whose measures by Baranī has produced a controversy.³ The relevant sentence has been considered to be ambiguous; it has been taken to mean either that the state demand was not to exceed a tenth of the produce or that it was not to be increased by more than ten per cent.⁴ The first view finds favour in the *Cambridge History*, and may now be supported by the arguments that Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak reduced the state demand on certain properties from a fifth to a tenth of the produce, that the double '*ushr*' is a fifth for some lands and a tenth for others, and that Fīrūz Shāh also mentions that he charged '*khārāj* on tithes paying lands'.⁴ But it should be remembered that Qutb-u'd-dīn's measure⁵ amounted to giving the Muslim

¹ Baranī, p. 287.

² Baranī, p. 383.

³ *Idem*, p. 429. The relevant sentence is:—

دبوان وزارت را فرمان داد که زیادت از یک ده یازده در
اقطاعات و ولایت بظن و تشخیص و یا بسعایت ساعیان و نمودار
موفران یزد نروند.

⁴ C.H.I., iii, p. 128; *Futūhāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 6.

residents of Lāhor, comparatively few in number at that period, the right of paying 'ushr' instead of kharāj, which could not seriously affect the exchequer, but Gḥiyāth-u'd-dīn's instructions to the effect that the demand should be reduced to a tenth would greatly affect the income. There is no definite record of a double nīm-ushr being in force in India; Fīrūz Shāh's statement will be discussed later to show that in his case also the demand was not one-tenth of the produce. The context of the sentence deals with the question of increasing the revenue and Baranī's remark can refer only to a limit to such increase; a critical examination of the text confirms this.¹ Historical probability also is in favour of this opinion. Since the normal state demand hitherto had been a fifth of the produce, it seems incredible that Gḥiyāth-u'd-dīn reduced it to a tenth and so diminished the state income by one-half. It can be argued that he preferred a low demand which could be easily collected to a higher demand which it was not possible to realize in its entirety. This argument can hardly hold ground, for one-fifth was not too high a demand; it could only apply to the reduction of the demand when it was as high as fifty per cent. of the produce. It is also unlikely that the sultan should act against the ruling of the jurists that the minimum kharāj is, in normal conditions, a double 'ushr' or a fifth of the produce. Muḥammad bin Tughluq did not disturb the proportion except in the Doāb; where he wanted to curb the rebellious activities of the prosperous population, whom he also suspected of collusion with Mongol invaders. Besides, as the result of his extravagance, he was hard pressed for money and increased the demand in the rich 'river country' with disastrous consequences. It is very

¹ D.A. makes the meaning of the sentence clear. On p. 37 غمودار is defined as 'valuation based on mere estimate.' It adds that such valuation is worthless. موفر is from توفير which is defined on p. 35 as increasing the revenue. The purport of this passage, therefore, can only be that no valuation should be increased on the reports of interested people.

difficult to determine the proportion of his demand, for in doing this we are again face to face with a controversial passage.¹ Moreland thinks that the demand was increased inordinately; the actual level of this increase, however, could not be very high.² The demand was, in all probability, increased by five to ten per cent. Probably he himself reduced the demand when he tried to rectify his mistake by

¹ The sentence is:--

خراج مہالک در دو آب یکے بدہ و یکے بی بیست می باید ستد

(Baranī, p. 473).

This can be translated as (i) "The *kharaḥ* of the provinces in the Doāb should be assessed at one part in ten or one part in twenty"; or (ii) "The *kharaḥ* . . . should be increased by one in ten or one in twenty"; or (iii) "The *kharaḥ* should be levied in the proportion of ten to one and twenty to one." (i) can be dismissed, for the peasantry could not be ruined by such a measure; (iii) really distorts the passage, because *یکے بدہ و یکے بی بیست* cannot be translated as 'ten for one and twenty for one'; it can only mean 'one in ten and one in twenty'. Thus only (ii) seems to be possible; it may, however, be questioned how *ستد* can be translated as 'increased'. The literal translation can be: (In) the *kharaḥ* of the provinces (an additional) one be charged along with every ten or twenty." Even if the translation suggested in (iii) be permissible, it can be merely a figure of speech. It is more likely, however, that Firshṭah and Hājī Dabīr are using figurative language when they say that the demand was increased threefold or fourfold. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not so foolish as not to understand that such an increase could never be realized. These later historians were writing at a time when the peasants paid a much higher percentage of their produce, therefore they could not understand how a small increase in the state demand could result in discontent and rebellion. The reasons for the discontent can, however, be explained easily: (i) the population felt that there was no justification for the increase; they had submitted to 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's demand because of the Mongol danger; (ii) as Dr Mahdī Husam (*Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, p. 152) points out, there was already discontent among the disbanded Hindu soldiery who had been recruited for the proposed Khurāsān expedition and who had chiefly been drawn from the Doāb. Taking these factors into consideration it seems that (ii) is the correct interpretation. It has the added advantage that it gives the exact percentage of enhancement.

² Moreland, p. 48, footnote.

giving advances of money and encouraging cultivation.¹ In other areas the sultan demanded a fifth of the produce.² Some historians believe that Firūz Shāh charged a tenth; a more critical examination of the evidence shows that this sultan as well maintained the old proportion. Baranī tells us nothing beyond saying that the monarch exercised great moderation.³ The belief that he charged a tenth is based on Firūz Shāh's own statement contained in *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz-shāhī*, where he has been taken to speak of the *kharāj* from 'the tithes paying lands', so-called by the sultan for they were assessed for revenue on the scale recommended by the jurists for tithes.⁴ This reading seems to be incorrect; even it were correct, the word *kharāj* would obviously be used in the general sense of revenue, which, according to the tithes system, would be half a tenth, a tenth and a fifth from different kinds of land. On the '*ushrī* lands the former two rates would apply and on the '*kharājī* lands, the last. However, the parallel passage in *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī* makes this reading of the text doubtful; it is more probable that Firūz Shāh is referring to *kharāj* and '*ushr* separately. The evidence contained in *Dastūr-u'l-albāb fī 'ilm-i'l-ḥisāb*, when examined critically, also confirms the opinion that except for a few well defined areas, which paid the half or single tithe, the general charge on land was a fifth of the produce, which was maintained from the earliest days of the sultanate until, at least, the end of Firūz Shāh's reign; the only

¹ Baranī, p. 482.

² *Qaṣṣ'id-i-Badr-i-Chāch*, p. 7.

ربع ربع جار ربع و شش جهت را خمس یافت
عاشر نه تختنه باغ از عشر یک انبار من

If it be permissible to hold that the poet's similes are based on contemporary practice, the proportions of state demand alluded to in this couplet are a fourth, a fifth and a tenth. The last is the '*ushr*'; a fifth was the general level of demand; a fourth was probably demanded in the *Doūb*. If 5 per cent is added to the prevailing 20 per cent it makes 25 per cent.

³ *Vide* Appendix D.

⁴ *Vide* Appendix E.

exception was 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's special demand of a half. There might, of course, have been variations in some outlying parts of the empire as the result of different local traditions.

We do not hear of any change until the days of Sher Shāh, when Elliot's translation of 'Abbās' Sher Shāh's demand. Sarwānī tells us that one share was to be given to the cultivator and a half to the headman.¹ This may imply that a third was claimed by the state as its share. The manuscripts in general do not support this assertion, which seems to be based on some exceptional copy. To counterbalance this doubt is advanced Sher Shāh's schedule incorporated in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*; but the language of the *Ā'in* does not justify the conclusion that Sher Shāh demanded a third.² A critical examination of the passage lends weight to the opinion that Abū'l-Faḍl is referring to Sher Shāh's figure of average produce as the lowest available in the empire at that time. Besides, Sher Shāh asked Haibat Khān, governor of Multān, to levy a fourth of the produce as revenue and to charge no other taxes or cesses. It is, however, argued that Multān was treated with exceptional leniency in view of its previous devastation.³ The reduction of the rate of the land revenue would be a highly exceptional favour; besides, the language of the chronicler implies that the concession lay in the exemption from a number of taxes, not in the reduction of the land revenue.⁴ There is evidence to show that it was Akbar who first demanded a third of the produce. Akbar's ancestor Timūr realized a third of the produce as land revenue in some of his domains.⁵ He was not in India long enough to influence agrarian administration. We, however, know that Bābur

¹ E. & D., iv, pp. 413-414.

² *Vide* Appendix C.

³ *Moreland*, p. 75.

⁴ Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Pt. I, p. 135.

⁵ *Tuzūkāt-i-Timūrī*, p. 362.

demanded a hundred and thirty instead of a hundred.¹ This would raise the demand roughly to a fourth of the produce; thus Sher Shāh's demand from the people of Multān was not exceptional. It was, therefore, Akbar who raised it to a third. Abū'l-Faḍl finds it necessary to justify this measure by saying that Akbar abolished various taxes including the *jiziyah*.² It is not improbable that the *kharāj* was some times considered to cover the *jiziyah* as well.³

An important factor in the agrarian system of any country is the position of the middlemen. These Hindu chiefs fall into two distinct categories. The first were the old Hindu chiefs who had long traditions of authority and could command the loyalty and support of peasantry living in their territories. These families were semi-independent even under Hindu rulers and kings, and were by no means easy to control; they were left in the same state by the early Muslim rulers on the promise to pay the fixed tribute.⁴ Whenever he could defy the central government, the chief withheld tribute; when brought to heel, a fresh agreement was made either with the same chief or another set up in his place. But this was a losing game, and the sultans were able to make their force felt more and more widely. The tribute they paid to the state only roughly depended on the area under their control, for its amount was often decided by an armed conflict and thus depended

¹ *Memoirs of Bābur*, ii, p. 345.

² *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, pp. 300, 301.

³ D.A., pp. 66, 67. The evidence is not conclusive. This authority divides *jiziyah* into two kinds; one is in the form of a capitation tax, the other is *kharāj-i-muqāsimah*. I have not come across this view elsewhere, hence D.A., might be referring specifically to the practice under the sultans. With other forms of *kharāj jiziyah* should have been levied separately. D.A., p. 64.

⁴ *Tuḥfat-u'l-kirām*, f. 260b; *Tāj*, f. 59. The tribute was called *mālguzāhī*, *marāsum-i-khudmātī*, *vajūh-i-māl*, etc.

on their strategic position or fighting power, but some consideration must have been paid to their capacity for payment. If they happened to be strong, their tribute would be only nominal. The tributaries in the areas near the capital were the first to be reduced to submission; ultimately only the very distant chiefs with impregnable mountain fortresses were tempted to measure their strength against the sultan. Balban's energetic rule considerably weakened them, and the process went on until 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī was able to reduce their power. Quite a number of these chiefs had been reduced to the position of mere headmen, and by cutting off their special perquisites the sultan considerably reduced their power even further.¹ Yet, though 'Alā-u'd-dīn humiliated the refractory chiefs nearer the capital, he treated the newly subjugated rulers of the South with consideration. Even in Hindustān, the tributary chiefs continued to flourish and we read of their privileged position at the court of (Firūz Shāh.²) In the anarchy after Tīmūr's invasion, these leaders took part in the political game of dividing the spoils; when Sher Shāh and Humāyūn came to grips for the throne of Dehlī, the Hindu chiefs were able to give effective help to the combatants.³ Humbler in status were the village headmen who helped the officials to assess and collect the revenue, for which they received a commission.⁴ They can hardly be termed middlemen, for they were expected to collect only the state demand from the cultivators. They did sometimes endeavour to squeeze more out of the peasant, but the state always frowned on such practices and tried to stop them.⁵

¹ Baranī, p. 287.

² E.g., Rāi Bhairo Bhattī who escorted Firūz Shāh after the sultan had escaped from the trap laid for him in Khudāwandzādah's house; 'Afif, p. 103.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* mentions several Hindu chiefs, e.g., pp. 187, 225, etc.

⁴ E.g., Baranī, p. 430.

⁵ E.g., Baranī, p. 288.

Sometimes the headmen undertook to pay a fixed amount on behalf of the village, and thus they acted as tax-farmers. Very different from such headmen was the tax-farmer who undertook to pay the state a fixed sum of money for a considerable area.¹ There can be little doubt that this method was open to abuse and often resulted in loss to the state and hardship to the cultivator. There were various kinds of tax-farmers. The village headman might act as a tax-farmer by undertaking to pay a fixed amount to the state on behalf of the peasant. This sum would naturally be based on local records and neither the state nor the peasants could be great losers, for, in lieu of the risks involved, the headman would get a favourable figure and the state would be saved from the bother of assessment and collection. Sometimes it might be a good policy to make the governor of a province responsible for the collection of the revenue and come to terms with him regarding the sum of money which he was to pay. In efficient and conscientious hands, this arrangement might lead to a unified control of the administrative machinery and produce better results. The tributary chiefs were tax-farmers in a sense, for they paid only a fixed tribute. They were permanent; they had local ties and their claims were based on immemorial custom. The worst tax-farmer was the speculator whose one idea was to make money and who had no scruples about robbing the state or oppressing the peasant. The system of farming dates back to Hindu times and was known to Muslims as well before they came to India.² During the earlier days of the sultanate, when the rulers did not know much of local conditions, this system must have found favour, though it is not possible to estimate its extent. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī, who even objected to assignments, was not likely to encourage farming, but the

¹ E.g., Baranī, p. 429; D.A., p. 30.

² E.g., 'Ubbi, pp. 33-34; *Ancient India and Ancient Indian Civilization*, p. 103, where *gramanī* is held responsible for the taxes of the village.

system seems to have grown under his successors. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq took stringent measures against it, and the historian's language shows this was a great reform.¹ Muhammad bin Tughluq's financial difficulties led to a recrudescence of the system; under him we see the system at its worst. Speculative farmers of no substance offered high prices which they could not pay, and being afraid of the sultan's chastisement rebelled. Of course, the state was not able to recover anything.² Firūz, in his turn, suppressed tax-farming; but it seems to have revived in certain parts of the sultanate after Timūr's invasion, though the growth of assignments in that period did not favour extensive farming.³

Sher Shāh's efficiency did not brook farmers.⁴

Hieun Tsang mentions that all ministers of state and common officials were paid by assignments.⁵ This shows that the system of granting the produce of a defined area of land in return of services was common in India before its conquest by Muslims, who themselves had developed it fully under the Abbasids and the dynasties which arose as the result of the weakening of the caliphate.⁶ The Ghaznavids as well as the Ghorids adopted it widely, and when the sultanate of Dehli was established, the easiest method of bringing the new dominions under proper control was to carve it out into *aqṭā's*. The assignment system continued throughout the period, though it was restricted considerably by some sultans. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khalji refrained from giving many assignments, for he thought they encouraged the nobles to rebel.⁷ Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh was too generous in

¹ *Baranī*, p. 429.

² *Baranī*, pp. 487-488. Most of these farmers proved unsatisfactory and even rebelled.

³ The Lodī hegemony was based on nobles holding large *aqṭā's*, and *aqṭā'dārs* naturally wanted to get all the profit themselves by managing their own holdings. All histories of the Lodī dynasty leave the impression of Afghan power being supported by nobles with large followings.

⁴ *Moreland*, p. 49.

⁵ *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 49.

⁶ *Sociology of Islam*, i, p. 343.

⁷ *Afif*, p. 95.

giving *aqṭā's*.¹ The founder of the next dynasty, *Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq*, though anxious to keep tax-farmers away from the ministry, does not seem to have interfered with assignments. As regards the next reign, we know definitely that the personal salaries of all high officials were paid by assigning to them the revenue of "towns and villages."² Such grants became even more numerous under *Fīrūz Shāh*; with the increase of power away from the centre, assignments changed in nature and grew bigger, for every chieftain with some following could carve out a domain for himself.³ When the Sayyids established some sort of order, the *Lodīs* and other *Afghāns* gained in power and importance and became holders of large areas. Under their own government the *Afghāns* divided the whole empire into large assignments. There had occurred a profound change in the nature of assignments. When the earlier sultans gave only partially conquered areas to their nobles, or the nobles, of their own accord, extended their domain and conquered new regions for themselves, it is obvious that these nobles must have possessed practically independent power. Indeed the conquest of Bengal by *Muḥammad bin Bakht-yār Khaljī* and his previous conquest of *Bihār* show that the central government had little share in these exploits.⁴ (As late as *Balban's* time, assignments seemed to be in the possession of the holders. *Baranī* relates that *Balban* ordered the resumption of the assignments of certain soldiers who were too old to fight. *Fakhr-u'd-dīn*, the *kotwāl*, interceded successfully, and these men were left in possession of the villages. These soldiers were members of the central corps, the *qalb*; and the assignments had been given by *Īltutmish*. The picturesque details recorded by *Baranī* show that these men were in actual possession and did not merely receive a fixed amount from the local officials; in fact they had come to regard these villages as

¹ *Baranī*, p. 382.² *E. & D.*, iii, p. 578.³ *Aḥīf*, p. 296.⁴ *Minhāj*, pp. 146-151.

their hereditary property.¹ Subsequently the nature of the assignment changed and the holder was only entitled to the revenue of the area ; he had no right to manage it.² This was certainly the position under Muḥammad bin Tughluq and his successor.³ It is not possible to date the change precisely, but it was probably due to 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khalji who curbed the power of the nobles in so many ways. He probably did not confiscate assignments, but took over their management. This reform, however, was swamped in the anarchy after Tīmūr's invasions ; Farīd, the future Sher Shāh, found it difficult to persuade Afghān nobles that the *parganaḥ* under his control was not hereditary property but an assignment from the emperor and, therefore, could not be divided among his brothers like personal belongings. This happened in spite of Sikandar Lodī's efforts ; in the royal communication granting an *aqṭā'* to the successor of an Afghān noble, it is clearly mentioned that the grant was made in the assignee's personal capacity, not because he was a relation of the late noble.⁴ We also know that Farīd managed the assignment and the entire control rested in his hands.⁵ There can be little doubt that the Afghāns had brought a good many notions from Roh. In the matter of assignments the trooper was not different from the noble except in the size of his holding. After the close of the dynasty of Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, on whose assignments light is thrown by Baranī's story already quoted, the granting of assignments to troopers was looked upon with disfavour ; it was only under Fīrūz Shāh that the practice once again became common.⁶ The Sayyids adopted the method of paying even merchants by giving them payment orders on some *parganaḥs*. Dā'ūdī mentions an instance when an order drawn by Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khiḍr Khān's grandson, was not

¹ Baranī, pp. 60-64.

² D A., p. 30 This view is also held in *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, p. 365.

³ E. & D., iii, p. 577 ; 'Afif, pp. 296-297.

⁴ Sarwānī, f. 19a.

⁵ *Wāqīāt-i-Mushṭaqī*, t. 28

⁶ 'Afif, p. 96.

honoured.¹ The land reserved to produce cash income for the central government was called *khāhṣah*.² No assignments were granted from this land. The assignees cannot be called middlemen even when they collected the revenue themselves, for they were expected to collect only the state demand. They acted as agents of the sultan, and were not intermediaries.

In connection with assignments, it was necessary to know how much a certain area was likely to yield. This has been technically termed valuation.³ When the government did not know the value of various parts of the newly or only half conquered territories, the nobles must have been given large areas to be brought under control without any precise knowledge of their yield; but even then some regard must have been paid to the dignity of the noble in proportion to the size of the area entrusted to him. When there was room for expansion and there was a great deal of land to be brought under control, a noble's domains must have depended on his own resources. But gradually as administration grew sounder and more settled, there must have grown up some method of suiting the assignment to the office. Thus valuation must have come into existence quite early. The mention of valuation in the *Masālik-u'l-abṣār* throws further light on assignments.⁴ This authority says that the assignments yielded much more than their estimated produce, which shows that the assignment was granted on the basis of the expected produce; the net produce was a matter of the assignee's luck. Hence, the state must have left a margin in favour of the assignee. We know definitely that the surplus was not claimed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq or Sikandar Lodī, but the position with regard to other monarchs is not quite certain.⁵ We know about Firūz Shāh

¹ *Dā'irī*, f. 4b

² E.g., *Baranī*, p. 382. The *juziyah* also was included in the revenue assigned. *Inṣhā-i-Māhruū*, Letter XXVIII.

³ *Moreland*, p. 56.

⁴ E. & D., iii., p. 577.

⁵ *Ibid.*; *Dā'irī*, f. 26a.

that he claimed any surplus that accrued, but he also compensated the assignee whenever there was a deficit.¹ It is obvious that this valuation had to be revised periodically on the basis of figures collected by the *diwān-i-wizārat*, but there is no record of the method used nor of the time that lapsed between one valuation and another. One valuation sufficed for the whole of Fīrūz Shāh's reign, but this seems to be an exception; however, this valuation had taken six years to prepare.² Probably the breakdown of the administration under Muḥammad bin Tughluq was responsible for this length of time.

At first sight there seems to be a contradiction in these conclusions. It may be asked : what was the need of valuation if the state managed the assignments directly ? And, then, how under a system of state-managed assignments, could there be a margin of profit for the assignee ? The answer is that valuation would, to a certain extent, be necessary even if there were no assignments, because it was the medieval equivalent of budget estimates. The system of making assignments in area instead of in money was a matter of convenience, for it saved the state a great deal of trouble. The margin left in favour of the assignee was insurance against bad times. The system of assignments on the basis of valuation also gave the state the potential power of artificial inflation of the valuation which could be utilised in times of financial stringency.

(The Hindu rulers had levied high rates for all irrigation facilities and were not content with their increased share in the produce. From one-fifth to one-third of the gross produce was taken as *udāka-bhāga* or water rate from lands irrigated by water even though it was not supplied by direct action of the state. The reason was that the Hindus held that all water be-

¹ D. A., p. 30.

² *Afif*, p. 94. Fīrūz's dominions excluding Bengal were valued as yielding 67,500,000 *tankahs* a year.

longed to the king.¹ Muslim rulers did not charge any extra rate even for the water supplied through channels by the state.² Fīrūz Shāh was not the first to dig canals; we read, for instance, that Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq dug canals in the days of his governorship.³ Muḥammad bin Tughluq also increased irrigation facilities.⁴ Sujān Rāi mentions that Sultān Nāsir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd spent large sums of money on public works including canals.⁵ However, Fīrūz Shāh was the first sultan to build canals with his private money. He asked the jurists if he could charge a rate for the water supplied by his canals. The jurists decided that he could charge ten per cent.⁶ This amount was calculated on the gross produce and was deducted from the share of the state; it was put into the privy purse and not into the state treasury. When the sultan's canal irrigated waste land, he charged the peasants a fifth of the produce and paid the 'uṣhr into the treasury. The state sometimes permitted other individuals as well to dig canals for the purpose of bringing waste land under cultivation on the same terms. Once a canal had been dug, the state insisted that it should be kept in repairs.⁷

The idea of digging canals and providing irrigation facilities was the outcome of the anxiety of *Amīr-i-kohi,* the sultans to improve agriculture in their dominions. Larger areas brought under cultivation and better quality crops would produce more revenue. This was well understood; the state regarded the peasant as the treasure

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 108.

² Irrigation had already been developed into a complex science in the lands of Islam before the establishment of the sultanate of Dehlī, *vide Mez.*, pp. 449-454.

³ E.g., *Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 63; *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 14; *Sīrat-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, pp. 159-161. The *Sīrat* also records the construction of bridges over these canals: one exists near *Timārpūr* in Delhi. The same authority gives some details about *Tughluq's* canals and those of *Fīrūz Shāh* (p. 211).

⁴ I.B., ii, p. 55.

⁵ *Muntaḥḥab-u't-tawārīkh*, p. 196.

⁶ *A'if*, pp. 129-131

⁷ *Vide Appendix G.*

house of the community.¹ Balban is credited with the improvement of agriculture even when he was an ordinary noble; Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq was noted for his interest in the cultivators.² However, it is generally believed that the first monarch to constitute a ministry for this purpose was Muḥammad bin Tughluq. The new department was called *diwān-i-amīr-i-kohī*; its function was to bring new areas under cultivation and to improve the existing crops. The project was fundamentally sound, but the sultan was not fortunate in the choice of his officials who were inefficient and lacked experience besides being dishonest and corrupt. The system lent itself to corruption, because large sums of money were devoted to the aid of the peasant at a time when the sultan himself was far away campaigning in Gujrāt and Sind and the whole administration was tottering. If Muḥammad bin Tughluq had possessed the capable staff which served 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī, the story would have been entirely different.³ The department of *amīr-i-kohī*, however, seems to have been much older in origin, because an *amīr-i-koh* is first mentioned under Īltutmish.⁴ Fīrūz does not seem to have continued this ministry, but his interest in the improvement of agriculture was just as great. He assigned desolate areas to men who undertook to populate them and thus bring them under cultivation. Such assignees were charged only nominal revenue for specified periods.⁵ In this way large areas were brought under cultivation, and this extension was not limited to the provinces near Dehlī; for instance, in the *shiqq* of Sāmānah, the chronicler tells us, there were four villages to a *kroh*. The sultan turned his attention also to fruit-growing; no less than twelve hundred

¹ Repeated very often, e.g., *Baranī*, p. 574. The governors were almost invariably ordered to encourage cultivation; *Inshā-i-Mahrū*, Letters IV, IX.

² *Idem*, pp. 45, 442.

³ *Baranī*, pp. 498, 499.

⁴ An *amīr-i-koh* is mentioned under Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī. (*Baranī*, p. 281). *Minhāj* mentions the officer under Īltutmish (p. 177).

⁵ This revenue was technically called *muqaddar*, D.A., p. 33.

The foregoing were the main items of income ; but a number of local imposts are also mentioned. Imposts. which, in spite of repeated abolitions by the state, raised their head again and again in the history of Muslim India.⁶ For the origin of these taxes, one should turn to the Hindu period ; for the Muslim conquerors could not have brought taxes with Hindu names from their homelands. But before doing so, it will be fruitful to examine the attitude of the *shar'* towards these imposts. Two Muslim monarchs in India, Firūz Shāh and Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, both famous for their orthodoxy, took the view that they were illegal and abolished them. This attitude found favour in

⁶ Fīrūz Shāh, Akbar and Aurangzīb abolished these imposts.

orthodox Muslim circles, yet it should not be imagined that there was no difference of opinion.¹ The author of *Daftar-i-muqtaṣid* thinks that taxes not recognized by *shar'* can be levied provided they are not exorbitant.² This corroborates the view of those sultans who did not object to these extra taxes. The imposts abolished by Firūz Shāh and mentioned in his *Futūḥāt* are generally small cesses on articles sold in the towns and could not have brought much money to the exchequer; for instance, the vendors of fish, flowers, rope, oil, parched gram and betel leaves—petty shopkeepers or small stall-holders—could not have been taxed heavily.³ It is useless to discuss these taxes at length; they do not possess sufficient importance to find mention in the chronicles.⁴ The taxes actually mentioned by 'Afif deserve notice. Of these, *dāngānah* has already been described. *Jazzārī* was levied from butchers at twelve *jitals* per head on cows for slaughter; this was probably imposed to protect milch cattle. *Dūrī* can hardly be called a tax: it was more of the nature of forced labour. Already the older cities of Dehlī were falling into ruin and people were building houses near Firūzābād. Whenever traders brought goods to the capital on beasts of burden or in conveyances, they were required to carry bricks once from the old sites on their animals to the new city. Another tax was *mustaghīl*, which the historian defines as "the rent of houses and shops", and seems to have been paid even by the poor. The tax was confined to the city of Dehlī and brought in a revenue of 150,000 *tankahs* per annum. It is definitely called rent, and was probably collected from houses and shops built on state land.⁵ These taxes were not levied in the rural areas. It is surprising that 'Afif does not mention *charā'i* which Firūz includes in the list of taxes which he abolished. Grazing dues had been levied on animals since time immemorial. Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn

¹ Naṣā'ih Shāh Rukhī, ff. 279b, 289a. D. A., p. 32, groups them as (i) imposts on craftsmen and shopkeepers and (ii) transit duties.

² *Daftar-i-muqtaṣid*, p. 24.

³ *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*, f. 300a.

⁴ Vide Appendix H.

⁵ 'Afif, pp. 375-379.

Khaljī gave orders that the tax should be strictly enforced.¹ Unfortunately Baranī does not give details of the impost, but Abū'l Faḍl has given a description of its nature. It was a tax on land liable to pay *khārāj*, but left uncultivated and enclosed for pasturage.² The rates mentioned are low, and if they had been heavy under the sultans and had brought a large amount of money into the exchequer, 'Afif would not have completely ignored it. Another tax which finds mention with *charā'ī* is *karhī*, which some authors have taken to mean a house-tax, but which was more probably identical with *charā'ī*.³ There can be little doubt about the antiquity of some of these taxes. The *Shukranīti* mentions the rent on houses and shops; Manū speaks of taxes on meat, honey, *ghī*, perfumes, medicine, liquids, flowers, roots and fruits as well as on leaves, herbs, grass, hides, rattan work, earthen pots and stoneware.⁴ Similarly other minor taxes which Fīrūz Shāh abolished can be traced back to the days of Kautilya.⁵ Muslim rulers found it so difficult to eradicate them because the custom was too deeply ingrained in the traditions of the people and some of these imposts were revived by selfish officials and chiefs when the government was not vigilant.

An important source of income consisted of the presents (Presents. which were made by his subjects to the sultan. Any man who came to pay his respects to the monarch even after a short absence presented a gift in accordance with his rank. "The *faqīh* presents a *Qur'ān* or a book of something of that nature; the *faqīr* a prayer carpet, a rosary, a *miswāk* or some other object of a similar nature; the *amīr* gives horses, camels or arms."⁶ Some of the gifts made by grantees and great officials were magnificent; for example, vases of gold and silver encrusted with precious stones. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah speaks of the prime

¹ Baranī, p. 278, vide Appendix I.

² Ā'in-i-Akbarī, Book iii, Ā'in, vi.

³ Vide Appendix I.

⁴ *Ghī*=clarified butter. Manū, VII, pp. 129-133.

⁵ Vide Appendix H. ⁶ I.R., ii, p. 34. A *miswāk* is a tooth brush.

minister offering Muḥammad bin Tughluq gold and silver ware together 'with a porcelain vase filled with rubies, another with emeralds and a third full of magnificent pearls.'¹ When a noble arrived with his gifts, he was announced and presented to the sultan, the presents were then carried before the monarch and displayed, and the emperor graciously expressed his approval; sometimes he honoured the donor by shaking hands with him or even embracing him.² The custom of making presents to their rulers came very early into existence among Muslims; even the caliph 'Uthmān accepted a gift from one of his governors.³ The custom was adopted very early by the sultans of Dehlī. Ḥasan Nizāmī speaks of *muqaddams* and distinguished men of the vicinity coming to pay their respects to Qutb-u'd-din Aibak and bringing presents and gifts for the sultan.⁴ Only Fīrūz Shāh is recorded to have asked his ministers to deduct the value of presents from the dues outstanding against the noble concerned.⁵

The equivalent of a budget in those days is found in the fact that the money received from different sources was ear-marked for certain purposes; and the ministries roughly knew the expected income and expenditure. Except in the case of *kharāj* which fluctuated with the vagaries of the weather, the sources of income were fairly steady; for those were not the days of sudden upheavals in the world of industry and commerce and even factors of world-wide importance made themselves felt only slowly and gradually. The main heads of expenditure were the royal household, the administration, the army, the pious and charitable organizations, social services, public works, works for the improvement of agriculture, and the rewards, gifts and presents bestowed by the sultan. The money derived from *zakāt* and '*ushr*' was expended for charitable

¹ I.B., ii, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Aghānī*, XI, 30; *Mas'ūdī*, II, p. 262.

⁴ *Tāj*, e.g., ff. 141a, 142b.

⁵ '*Afif*', p. 269.

purposes, and the other taxes were ear-marked mostly to satisfy secular demands. The system of valuation and assignments ran the credit side of the administration, Successful campaigns paid for themselves. It is not possible to give a detailed budget ; the amounts under the various heads would depend on the necessity of the times and the temperament of the monarch.

{There can be little doubt that the monarchs maintained a privy purse, for 'Afīf is quite definite on the point.¹} It is, however, not known what were the particular items on which this money was expended. The royal household contained certain departments which to-day are public offices, hence {the monarch was not expected to meet the entire expenditure of his household from his privy purse.} That certain departments of the household were dependent on the sultan's privy purse in the Deccan is obvious from an incident in the life of Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh ; this sultan commanded half of the villages set aside for the support of his wardrobe and kitchen to be allotted to the army, for an economy in his personal expenditure was necessary to maintain the troops.² In any case, the existence of a privy purse is only an academic question for the real problem of every age is whether public money is being wasted or spent properly. To keep royalty in a state of comparative luxury has always been considered necessary ; but the East has generally attached special importance to this idea. {The sultanate of Dehlī maintained its rulers in a state of magnificence, but it also encouraged learning, patronized arts and ran a well-organized government.} In those days the splendour of the court was an indispensable political asset. Even when the sultan was immersed in merriment and pleasure-seeking, as in the cases

¹ Vide Appendix G For the existence of the privy purse under the Abbasids, vide Mez, pp. 120-122.

² Brigg's *Rise of Muhammadan Power*, iii, p. 55 An understanding had always existed "that in the event of the exhaustion of the treasury, the privy purse could be drawn upon to meet the situation," Mez, p. 120.

of Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād and Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh, the financial administration did not break down. The only serious dislocation was the result of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's political experimenting and extravagance in the patronage of learning ; but then this sultan had also to face great famines. The financial stability of the sultanate must have been due to some restriction on the sultan's personal expenditure ; probably they had to find money for any indulgence out of their own estates, which were known as *amlāk*.

It was considered necessary to build up a reserve. The Reserve.

Hindu tradition held that it was a disgrace for a prince to spend money which was hoarded by his forefathers. Muslim rulers did not go to that extreme ; but they accumulated large treasures which were touched only in cases of emergency.¹ The extent of these reserves can be gauged from the fact that Muḥammad bin Tughluq could redeem forged tokens on an immense scale, and make unparalleled gifts to nobles, travellers and men of learning and piety ; he felt the pinch only towards the end of his reign. Only Sher Shāh is recorded to have built up a famine relief fund \ he levied a small contribution for the purpose.²

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah has preserved for us a description of how Payment.

payments were made by the ministry. When the sultan ordered that a man be paid a sum of money, a document was made out which was called a *khatt-i-khurd*. This paper was countersigned by the *hājib* who brought it and three other nobles. In this instance the nobles were Quṭluḡ Khān, the *khariṭahdār* and the *dawātdār*. The document was registered in the *diwān-i-wizārat* ; then it was examined and sealed by the *diwān-i-naẓar* and the *diwān-i-ishrāf*. A *parwānah* was then made out ordering the treasurer to pay the money. The order was registered ; for the treasurer reported every day the payment orders which he had received. When the sultan confirmed

¹ *Siyāsāt-nāmah*, p. 173.

² *Afsānah-i-Shāhān*, f. 133b.

these orders, the actual payment was made. Sometimes this did not take place for six months. If the sultan wanted to make an immediate payment, he gave special instructions. The treasury deducted ten per cent. from the face value of the order.¹ Elaborate registers were maintained for keeping accounts.²

¹ I.B., ii, pp. 82, 83. This custom seems to have been derived from the Abbasids, under whom magnates made payments by drawing cheques on their bankers who deducted ten per cent. as their commission, *Mez*, pp. 476, 477.

² D.A., chapter on *Jarā'id*.

CHAPTER VII

THE ARMY

(THE sultanate of Dehlī was so situated that it could not neglect its army.¹ It started as an armed camp in the midst of a partially subjugated and hostile population, and the establishment of authority as well as the reconciliation of the people took some time.) Besides, from 618 A.H. (1221 A.C.) when it first felt the repercussions of the expansion of the Mongol power, the sultanate had to defend itself against constant invasions from the north-west.² The armies of the sultans managed to keep the barbarians out, but fell before their Muslim descendants. Timūr poured in his hordes when anarchy had reduced the House of Tughluq to impotence; Bābur took advantage of the disaffection of the Lodī nobles; and Humāyūn came back to give the final blow when Afghān turbulence had once again plunged the state into civil war: so the worst enemies of the sultanate throughout were the Mongols and their descendants. Still the sultans were not content, with standing on their guard; their armies penetrated far into the Deccan, and one of them had the ambition of conquering Khurāsān and 'Irāq.³ The sultan was generally a capable military leader by training; legally he was the commander-in-chief of the forces. His assistant in military affairs was the *nā'ib-u'l-mulk*.⁴)

¹ The need of an army was well recognised, e.g. *Tāj*, f. 9.

² Invasion of Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khwārazm-shāh; *Minhāj*, p. 171.

³ Muḥammad bin Tughluq; *Baranī*, p. 476.

⁴ Also called *malik nā'ib*, S.A., pp. 67, 68; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 30, 31, 33. These authorities call him *amrīyat*.

(There was a ministry for war called *diwān-i-'arḍ*. At its head was the '*āriḍ-i-mumālīk*'; he was responsible for maintaining the army in a state of efficiency and for the entire administration of military affairs.¹ He acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary of each recruit; the candidates displayed their skill and prowess in his presence and were then put on the pay roll.² At least once a year he inspected the troops and examined the condition of each trooper's equipment and mount.³ The promotion and degradation of the soldiers depended on the '*āriḍ* who kept the muster rolls and revised salaries at each annual review.⁴ His office was responsible for the recommendation of assignments to soldiers and for the payment of the troops.⁵ When a campaign was undertaken, the '*āriḍ* was in charge of all preparations.⁶ The choice of troops was generally left to him, though the general was nominated by the sultan.⁷ In all important wars the '*āriḍ* himself accompanied the army; sometimes he nominated a deputy.⁸ The '*āriḍ* also saw to matters of supply and transport; the commissariat was under his control. After a victory the '*āriḍ* supervised the collection of the booty which was divided in the presence of the commander-in-chief.⁹ The *Ādāb-u'l-mulūk* describes a review. The '*āriḍ*, from a place of vantage, saw the left wing, the centre and then the right wing march past him, both cavalry and infantry. (The *naqībs* stood by, and the '*āriḍ* scuritized each soldier, his arms and his horse.) Every soldier had an appointed place; the *naqībs* had charts for arranging the soldiers in battle array.)¹⁰ Fīrūz Shāh's unwise leniency undermined discip-

¹ *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 50; *Baranī*, pp. 60, 114, 170; *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī* ff. 66b, 70b.

² I.B., II, 9; *Baranī*, p. 102; '*Utbi*, pp. 104, 105, etc.

³ '*Afif*, pp. 299, 300

⁴ *Baranī*, pp. 62, 101, 102, etc.

⁵ '*Afif*, p. 301.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 60. ⁷ *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 50. ⁸ *Baranī*, e.g., p. 326.

⁹ *Diwān-i-Farrukhī*, f. 26b; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, pp. 118, 176.

¹⁰ A.M., ff. 81b-82b.

line ; in spite of repeated postponements a number of soldiers failed to attend for examination.¹ Balban's 'arīḍ treated the troops kindly and helped deserving men with money or material from his private resources, but he insisted on a high standard of efficiency.² He had a high sense of his responsibility and considered his post as "the guardianship of the empire."³ (The *diwān-i-'arḍ* was rightly called the 'source of the livelihood of the fighters for the Faith'; more difficult to understand,) however, is a statement by Baranī that 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khālījī*'s court poets received their salaries from this department.⁴ This implies that all salaries were disbursed by the 'arīḍ's office ; if so, one can see the beginnings in this system of the Mughul custom of putting all public servants on the army pay-list and giving them *manṣabs*. The 'arīḍ was assisted by a large clerical staff and had his lieutenants at the centre as well as in the provinces.⁵

The *diwān-i-'arḍ* kept a descriptive roll of every soldier *ḥuliyah* and *dāgh*. which was called *ḥuliyah*. 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khālījī* is credited with the introduction of a systematic branding of the horses brought by the troopers so that an animal might not be presented twice or replaced by a worse one.⁶ This system, called *dāgh*, really dates back to the Umayyads.⁷ Fīrūz Shāh seems to have discontinued both *dāgh* and *ḥuliyah*, for he allowed soldiers to send substitutes to the musters.⁸ Sikandar Lodī insisted on the registration of *ḥuliyah*, which was now known as *chehrah*.⁹ *Dāgh* was revived by Sher Shāh, to whom the danger of a Mughul restoration was ever present.¹⁰ Both *dāgh* and

¹ 'Afīf, pp. 299-301.

² Baranī, p. 115.

³ *Idem*, p. 116.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 360.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 326

⁶ *Idem*, p. 319

⁷ J.Z., p. 130.

⁸ 'Afīf, p. 303. The system of *dāgh* was maintained by Muḥammad bin Tughluq, *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 27.

⁹ *Muḥṭātī*, ff. 32b-33a.

¹⁰ *Sarwānī*, f. 68b ; *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī*, f. 167b ; *Ma'dan-i-Akḥbār-i-Aḥmadī* f. 110a ; *Sujān Rāī*, ff. 205, 206.

huliyah were intended to prevent fraud, not only on the part of the troopers themselves, but also by chiefs and nobles who drew the salaries of troops assigned to them and passed off hirelings on the day of muster.¹ The enrolment and inspection of the troops were considered so important that some sultans personally discharged these duties.²

The army was distributed according to the need and the strategic importance of the area concerned. The difficulties in transport Posting. resulted in a very wide allocation. Naturally, if disorders broke out in any area, the local troops would first try to cope with the situation; only if they failed or proved inadequate, were reinforcements rushed from neighbouring areas. In the last resort the detachments stationed in the capital or its vicinity were sent. The troops at Dehli were styled *hashm-i-qalb*, and consisted of the household brigade called *khāṣṣah khail*, comprising royal slaves and guards like the *jāndārs*, the *afwāj-i-qalb* or the troops directly under royal command, and other picked men under nobles kept at the capital. Garrisons in the provinces or at provincial headquarters were called *hashm-i-aṭrāf*.³ Great attention was paid to the north-west frontier where princes of royal blood or veteran generals with picked and reliable troops were stationed.⁴ The founders of the *Khalji* and the *Qarāwinah* dynasties had laid the foundations of success by service as wardens of the north-west marches.⁵ The garrison system goes back to early times. The Ghaznavids as well as the Abbasids had a network of citadels; we hear of Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak estab-

¹ *Sarwānī*, f. 68b.

² *E.g.*, *idem*, f. 69a.

³ *Afwāj-i-qalb* were also called *hashm-i-qalb*; *Munkhāj*, p. 323; *Baranī*, p. 59. Raverty's note, pp. 634, 635, is due to the confusion caused by the word *qalb*, meaning 'heart', being used in two senses, 'the army kept in the centre of the dominions' and 'the part of the army forming the centre on the field of battle.'

⁴ Balban and Jalāl-u'd-dīn *Khalji* kept their most capable sons on the frontier; *Baranī*, pp. 109, 238.

⁵ *Baranī*, pp. 196, 197, 422.

lishing garrisons under *kotwāls* in India.¹ The chronicles mention *kotwāls* and garrisons throughout the period; 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khālji repaired old forts and built new ones; Sher Shāh attached great importance to the upkeep of forts and to providing them with artillery.² He built Rohtās to defend his dominions against the Mughuls, and created four strongholds in the Rājput country by garrisoning Chitor, Ranthambor, Biyānah and Jodhpūr.³ Similarly he stationed troops in Bengal, in Mālwah and in the Panjāb.⁴ Humāyūn had a fantastic scheme of establishing viceroys at various centres in his dominions where he would reside in turn.⁵

As in the feudal array of Europe, the cavalry arm was supreme and formed the backbone of the army. It was the cavalry of Dehlī which so successfully kept the Mongol hordes at bay and struck terror into their hearts.⁶ We are fortunate in having the likenesses of horsemen engraved on some coins of the earlier sultans; of special interest are the coins struck by İltutmish "where the horse is seen at full charge, and the rider with upraised mace. . . The form of the saddle, the seat of the horseman, the *chanfrein* or head armour of the steed and his erect tail, all seem to point to Turki ideals." The rider's helmet has a flowing fall at the back.⁷ The Dehlī cavalryman must have resembled the horsemen whom Barbosa saw and admired in Gujrāt. "They are also very skilful horsemen," he writes, "they sit on high pommelled saddles and carry strong round shields." They were armed "with two swords, a dagger and a Turkish bow, with very good arrows"; others carried maces. Many of them wore coats of mail, and others jackets quilted with cotton. The horses were caparisoned with steel. Yet they were so light that they took

¹ *Tāj*, f. 67b. *Kotwāl*, originally *Kotpāl*, is a word of Hindu derivation. *Kot*=fort; *pāl*=guardian.

² I.B., ii, p. 28; E. & D, iii, p. 576, for Muḥammad bin Tughluq's garrisons; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 30.

³ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 79b

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Akbar-nāmah*, i, p. 356.

⁶ *Baranī*, pp. 320-323. ⁷ *Thomas*, pp. 78, 79.

part in the game of *chogān*.¹ A little later he says about the cavalry in the Deccan, "They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two."² Barbosa omits to describe the Dehli cavalry but praises their skill, fighting qualities and horses.³ The smartness of the soldiers of the sultanate was noted by other travellers as well.⁴ A necessary precaution in those days was to provide extra horses, so that the cavalry was divided into *murattab*, *sawār* and *do-aspah*, that is, men with two horses each, with single horses and with no horses of their own.⁵ Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghori is reported to have invaded the Ghaznavid kingdom of Lāhor with twenty thousand *do-aspah*, *sih-aspah* cavalry.⁶ *Murattab* cavalry are mentioned in 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's reign. The sultans had to take care that their army did not run short of horses. There was a thriving trade in horses between India on the one hand and Arabia, Turkistān and Russia on the other.⁷ Nor did the sultans neglect the breeding of good animals in India itself. In the royal *pāigāhs* near the capital and in the provinces they bred large number of horses.⁸ Balban is reported to have boasted that he could maintain the necessary supplies even if animals from the Mongol territories did not reach India.⁹ Actually during the Mongol terror, the trade in horses had almost ceased; those of foreign breeds were found mostly in the capital.¹⁰ 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī had seventy thousand horses in the city of Dehli and its vicinity.¹¹ Even Firūz Shāh, whose neglect of the army is notorious, maintained extensive *pāigāhs*.¹² Large numbers of led horses accompanied every army so

¹ Barbosa, i, p. 119.² *Idem*, pp. 180-181.³ *Idem*, p. 232.⁴ *Masālik-u'l-absār*, p. 27.⁵ *Vide* Appendix J.⁶ *Firīshṭah*, i, p. 90. There is no mention of *sih-aspah* cavalry under the sultans. This may be one of *Firīshṭah*'s uncritical glosses.⁷ *Vide* Chapter IV.⁸ *Ibid*⁹ Baranī, p. 53.¹⁰ *Ibid*.¹¹ Baranī, p. 262.¹² 'Afīf, pp. 339-340.

that those lost in battle might be replaced at the royal expense.¹

A very effective section was that of the elephants ; their size and strength struck the same dismay into the hearts of foreign warriors as did the first appearance of the tanks in the Great War. The Ghaznavids as well as the Sassanids employed elephants ; Baihaqī mentions that one thousand six hundred and seventy of these animals were present at a muster held by Mas'ūd at Kābul.² The sultans of Dehlī valued elephants highly ; Balban considered a single elephant to be as effective in battle as five hundred horsemen.³ A big war elephant could carry several armed soldiers ; they towered above the cavalry and the infantry and rained death amongst the ranks of the enemy.⁴ Some of these animals carried on their backs small citadels full of soldiers.⁵ Barbosa gives a realistic picture in the following words : " They build wooden castles on the elephants' backs which will hold three or four men armed with bows, arrows, arquebuses and other weapons. From these castles they fight against their enemies, and the aforesaid elephants are so well trained to this that when they enter into a battle they strike both horses and warriors."⁶ These elephants were clad in plates of steel, and large scythes were attached to their trunks and tusks.⁷ Firūz Shāh used elephants to break the force of the current when his troops were crossing a river ; ropes were tied to the animals to help the soldiers.⁸ Muḥammad bin Tughluq had three thousand elephants, which is not a large number when the extent of his dominions is taken into consideration.⁹ When Firūz Shāh marched against Bengal for the second time, he had four hundred and seventy elephants in his

¹ Baranī, p. 328. The horses were carefully graded ; I.B. (ii, p. 81) mentions four grades.

² Baihaqī, p. 349.

³ Baranī, p. 53.

⁴ I.B., ii, p. 35.

⁵ India in the XVth Century (Nikitin), p. 12.

⁶ Barbosa, i, p. 118 ; Masālik-u'l-abṣār (pp. 28, 48) and S.A. (p. 76) confirm this.

⁷ India in the XVth Century (Nikitin), p. 12.

⁸ Afīf, p. 111.

⁹ E. & D., iii, pp. 576-577.

train.¹ Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī had three thousand elephants in his stables, and Sultān Maḥmūd of the Sharqī dynasty marched against Dehlī with one thousand four hundred.² The sultans maintained a monopoly of elephants, for such a source of strength could be misused.³ A noble could possess an elephant only with royal permission.⁴ Great care was taken to maintain a good supply. Though the art of breeding elephants was known in contemporary India and practised successfully, it does not seem to have thrived at Dehlī itself."⁵ The main area of supply was Bengal; even its independent rulers were not in a position to stop sending elephants to Dehlī. Balban, in the course of advice to Bughrā Khān when installing him on the throne of Lakhnautī, said, "Send elephants occasionally to Dehlī, so that the emperor of Dehlī may not prevent the entry of horses into Bengal".⁶ South India and Gujrāt imported elephants from Ceylon; but it is not known if Ceylonese elephants ever reached Dehlī. In Gujrāt they fetched about Rs. 7,500 each; therefore their price in Dehlī would be prohibitive.⁷ The great number of elephants at Dehlī required a large establishment, and the *shāḥnah-i-fil* was an important officer of the realm. Generally, there were two *shāḥnahs*, one for the right wing and the other for the left.⁸ Sometimes, however, the commands were united in one man.⁹

The sultanate also maintained infantry.¹⁰ The foot soldiers were called *pāyaks*. These men were mostly Hindus, slaves or other persons of a humble origin who wanted employment and could not afford horses. They were useful as personal guards and

¹ *Afif*, p. 144.

² *Firishṭah*, i, p. 563; *Dā'ūdī*, f. 79a.

³ *Baranī*, p. 594.

⁴ *Vide* Chapter IV.

⁵ *Maṭla'-u's-sa'dain*, ii, f. 244b.

⁶ *Baranī*, p. 96.

⁷ *Barbosa*, i, p. 119. *Barbosa* gives the price as 1500 *cruzados*. The editor (foot-note 2, p. 118) explains that one *cruzado* was roughly equal to 10 shillings. This would make 1500 *cruzados*=£750. If a rupee is reckoned at the value of 2 sh. this sum would represent Rs. 7500.

⁸ *Baranī*, pp. 24, 126.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 424.

¹⁰ *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 103.

door-keepers, and, in spite of their humble position, sometimes took part in matters of great importance. It was by his *pāyak* bodyguard that 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's life was saved when 'Akāt Khān's men attacked him.¹ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh was placed on the throne of Dehlī as the result of the *pāyak* conspiracy against Malik Kāfur.² They are mentioned as taking part in various battles, though it was difficult to transport them to distant places, and thus they could not very well be used in campaigns which required swift movement. The numerous archers were called *dhānuks*, a term which obviously comes from the Sanskrit word *dhanush*, meaning a bow.³ Barbosa thus describes the foot soldiers of the Deccan: "They carry swords and daggers, bows and arrows. They are right good archers and their bows are long like those of England." They were mostly Hindus.⁴ The most famous *pāyaks* came from Bengal.⁵ Sher Shāh increased the effectiveness of the Baksariyāhs by giving them matchlocks.⁶ Some authorities mention a class of soldiers called '*pāyak-ba-asṣ*' which means 'foot soldiers with horses.' The early sultans, in view of their limited man power, supplied some foot soldiers with horses for actual fighting; but because these men did not bring their own horses, they were treated as infantrymen for the purpose of salary and allowances.⁷

The use of naphtha and Greek fire was known from very early times; incendiary arrows and javelins as well as pots of combustibles were hurled against the enemy; the Dehlī army used grenades, fireworks and rockets against Tīmūr.⁸ The best defence against fire was provided by vinegar.⁹ The term *Kushkanjir* finds mention in the thirteenth century; in accordance with a dictionary compiled in the fifteenth century it seems to

¹ Baranī, p. 273.² *Idem*, pp. 376, 377.³ *Idem*, p. 52.⁴ Barbosa, i, p. 181.⁵ Baranī, p. 593.⁶ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 79a.⁷ *Munkhāj*, p. 257; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 16.⁸ *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 85.⁹ *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1876, pp. 30-34.

have been a crude form of cannon.¹ The translation of *sang-i-maghribī* as *mudfa'* in the *Zafar-u'l-wāḥh* lends support to the idea that artillery was already in use under 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khālījī*; the sultanate, however, does not seem to have made much progress in this direction. It was in the provincial kingdoms of Gujrāt and the Deccan that this arm was properly developed.² *Ibrāhīm Lodī* had no fire arms at *Pānīpat*.³ *Sher Khān* fully recognized the importance of artillery, and when he became the master of Bengal, he overshadowed the *Mughuls* in the strength of his guns. Indeed so dependent were the *Sūrs* on their heavy artillery that *Mirzā Ḥaidar Daghlat* advised *Humāyūn* to seize *Kashmīr* and entrench himself there, for *Sher Shāh* would never be able to take his guns into the mountains.⁴ Under the *Mughul* emperors, the chief engineer of the artillery, who was also a military commander, was called *mīr-ātīsh*. *Sher Shāh* and his successors made their own guns and some very large pieces were manufactured.⁵

Of much greater antiquity were the various mechanical devices for battering the walls of fortresses, for throwing large balls, for projecting naphtha and fireworks. The different war engines used by the sultanate of *Dehlī* have been mentioned in the chronicles; but they have nowhere been described fully and it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. The *maghribī* was adopted from the Western Caliphate and may signify cannon.⁶ The *manjanīq* and the 'arrādah were used to throw stone balls or vessels containing Greek fire or

¹ *Islamic Culture*, October 1937, p. 475; *Journal of Indian History*, 1936, p. 185; *Tāj*, f. 2b, for the history of Greek fire, vide *Enān: Decisive Moments in the History of Islam*, pp. 109-121.

² Artillery finds mention at various places in the history of warfare in the Deccan in all the standard authorities.

³ *Memoirs of Bābar*, ii, pp. 183-188.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 480.

⁵ *Akbar-nāmah*, i, p. 151; *Sarwānī*, f. 28a.

⁶ *Vide supra*, also *Islamic Culture*, October 1938, pp. 405-418.

a moving army.¹ Besides, so long as the army was within the frontiers of the sultanate, it could depend on large stores of grain belonging to the state.² Tributary chiefs showed their loyalty by bringing provisions when the army was in their dominions. In the enemy territory, it had to rely on the *banjārās*, the local population and sometimes on plunder; but the last was the extreme resort for it tended to frighten away the local merchants and the peasants, with the result that supplies would ultimately fail.

✓ The engineering department must have been well organized to construct all these forts, Engineers. defensive works, redoubts and war

engines. Pontoon bridges were thrown over rivers, and sometimes when the army was camping, it had to be protected with a ditch and even with palisades called *katgharāhs*.³ When Islām Shāh Sūr marched against Humāyūn, he had 150,000 wood-cutters and another 150,000 men to dig ditches.⁴ Even if these numbers be exaggerated, the evidence shows that the department was well manned.

✓ There was an orthodox method of camping. The choice of the site was effected by the facilities for obtaining water, grass and firewood. The layout corresponded with the battle array. The position of the royal household was just behind the fighting forces; at the back of the royal tents were the armoury, the transport animals and the camp-followers.⁵ Thus the sultan and his family were in the middle of the entire encampment. If possible, the rear of the encampment was protected by a hill or a river.⁶ In case of actual danger, a ditch was dug round the army,

¹ Baranī, p. 304. The *banjārās* are mentioned as *kārwāniyān*, i.e., nomads. This description applies to the *banjārās* who were nomads and traded in corn.

² This was an old method, vide *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 91.

³ *Afif*, p. 232; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūh*, p. 93.

⁴ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 114a

⁵ The royal tents were often wooden pavilions, spacious and commodious, which could be constructed and taken into pieces in a short while—*Masāhik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 35; S. A., pp. 75, 76.

⁶ A. M., f. 83.

or the camp might be defended by wagons or wooden palisades tied together by chains.¹

As regards strategy, due regard was paid to the terrain, wind and sun.² The arts of ambushing and surprise attacks were studied and skilfully applied.³ The disposition of the forces was traditional. The centre, the two wings, a vanguard, a rearguard were the divisions known in the days of the Prophet.⁴ To these should be added the two *jināḥ* or flanking parties; and the array known to the sultans of Dehli is complete.⁵ The *Ṣubḥ-u'l-a'shā* mentions that the sultan stood in the centre surrounded by the 'ulamā. Before and behind him were the archers. The wings were on either side. In front stood the elephants protected by iron plates, with towers on their backs carrying warriors. The elephants were preceded by armed slaves.⁶ This description, incomplete as it is, substantially agrees with the array suggested by the *Ādāb-u'l-mulūk*, which recommends four lines of infantry and archers in front with gaps for the cavalry to ride out and give battle to the enemy.⁷ These lines would make a solid block against sudden attacks; and being covered by the elephants and the archers in the towers, the formation should be practically unassailable. It is interesting to note that this plan contains the germs of the strategy which Bābur employed so effectively against Ibrāhīm Lodī and Rānā Sāngā.⁸ It is needless to add that troops were always arranged in serried ranks.⁹

¹ A. M., f. 87b

² *Idem*, ff. 92, 105.

³ *Idem*, ff. 86b-88a.

⁴ V. K., p. 91.

⁵ A. M., f. 83b; *Tāj*, f. 51a. *Jināḥ* literally means 'wings', the right and left wings are however called *mamānah* and *maṣarah*; hence, *jināḥ* really meant flanking parties

⁶ S. A., p. 76; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 48.

⁷ A. M., f. 94a.

⁸ *An Empire Builder of the XVIth Century*, pp. 129-132; 149-152

⁹ A. M., f. 94a.

The scouts, called *ṭalai'ah* or *yazkīs*, formed an important part of the army.¹ These were light troops specially trained to reconnoitre and bring news. They had instructions not to move in a body, yet to be within reach of one another; not to seek fight, yet to be able to defend themselves and beat a retreat if attacked. They were specially enjoined not to flee, for that might cause a general stampede.² (The scouts are rightly compared to the eyes of an army; they should not be confused with the spies whose business it was to go and mix with the enemy and find out his secrets. The spies were not soldiers and moved about in various disguises to worm out secrets more easily.³ Muslim armies had ambulances and hospitals from very early times; the practice continued under the sultans of Dehlī.⁴ Nor was the spectacular side neglected. Bands of music were an essential part of the equipment of an army.⁵ Fīrūz Shāh constructed immense drums which had to be carried on elephants.⁶ Large banners were carried with the army. The sultans had two main colours: on the right were black flags, of Abbasid colour; and on the left, they carried their own colour, red, which was derived from Ghūr.⁷ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak's standards bore the figures of the new moon, a dragon or a lion; Fīrūz Shāh's flags also displayed a dragon.⁸ This sultan made his banners so big and heavy that they had to be carried on elephants, and could be

¹ *Ṭalai'ah* is Arabic; *yazkī*, Turkish. *Minhāj* (p. 288) uses the modified form *ṭalāyah*; *Baranī* uses *yazak* in his *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 180a.

² A. M., ff. 84b-86b.

³ *Idem*, f. 127a.

⁴ *History of the Saracens*, p. 433; *Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 102.

⁵ *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, pp. 101-102.

⁶ *'Afif*, p. 370.

⁷ *Minhāj*, e. g., pp. 127, 179, 207, *Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 133; *Masāḥk-u'l-abjār*, p. 35; S. A., p. 75; J. Z., p. 135. The Umayyad colour also was red.

⁸ *'Afif*, pp. 369, 370; also, *Tāj* at various places; e. g., f. 120b. The crescent continued to adorn the standards of the sultanate; e. g., *Khusraw* says in *Dīwān-i Khidr Khān*, p. 52:

هلال رایتنشی را روز تا روز فلک می خواست بدر عالم افروز

Also, *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥasan Sajzī*, p. 506.

seen at a distance of two or three *krohs*.¹ The nobles had their own standards, and *Khusraw* suggests that *Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq*'s flag bore the design of a fish when he fought the usurper *Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Khusraw*; this is one of the earliest mentions of *māhi-marātib* in the history of the sultanate.² Under *Muḥammad bin Tughluq* a *khān* was allowed to carry seven flags and an *amīr* three.³ When *Fīrūz Shāh* gave battle to *Shams-u'd-dīn* of Bengal, there were five hundred flags belonging to the sultan and his generals in the army.⁴ The generals were magnificently dressed. Their usual attire was a Tartar robe with gold brocade, with embroidered sleeves or shoulders; they wore a four-cornered head-dress inlaid with diamonds and rubies. Their hair was plaited in hanging locks with silk tassels. They had gold and silver belts wound tightly round their waists and they wore shoes and spurs.⁵ The soldiers wore distinctive clothes which served as uniforms to distinguish between friend and foe.⁶ The *zarrādkhānah* supplied arrows and missiles and replaced broken weapons.⁷ The *qūrkhānah* was the repository of royal arms and the officer in charge of it was styled *qūrbeg*. Sometimes there were two *qūrbegs*, one for the right wing, another for the left.⁸ Attached to every army was a *ṣāhib-i-bārid-i-lashkar* who was the official news-writer and sent all reports to the capital.⁹

It was considered politic in Muslim lands to prevent the predominance of any particular race in the army, so that the ruler might not be entirely dependent on any one section.¹⁰ From the very

¹ 'Aḥīf, pp. 369, 370

² *Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 122. Later *māhi-marātib* became more common. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, p. 237.

³ S. A., p. 77. The *Masālik-u'l-abṣār* (p. 36) says they could carry nine.

⁴ 'Aḥīf, p. 115.

⁵ S. A., p. 70. In actual battle they wore coats of mail or jackets quilted with cotton. *Barbosa*, i, p. 180. ⁶ A. M., f. 128b

⁷ *Baihaqī*, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, also *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, p. 62.

⁹ *Baihaqī*, p. 544

¹⁰ *Qābūs-nāmah*, pp. 171, 172

beginning, the tribal elements in the army were so well-balanced that any one of them, if capably led, could gain power. The Khaljīs established a semi-independent state in Bengal; later they were able to oust the House of Balban from the throne, and were themselves replaced by the Qarāwinah.¹ Under Muḥammad bin Tughluq the army consisted of Turks, Khittā'īs, Persians, Indians and lesser elements.² Even Sher Shāh, who was such a patron of the Afghāns, did not exclude others from his army: he only treated Afghāns with greater consideration, for he had come to the throne as the leader of an Afghān revival.³ The Hindus very soon obtained military employment. The Ghaznavids gave important military posts to Hindus: there were few nobles with so much influence as Tilak, the son of a Hindu barber.⁴ Hindu soldiers fought for the Ghaznavids against the Saljūqs.⁵ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak employed Hindu cavalry.⁶ Balban had such a large number of Hindu horse-men that his 'ārid' was popularly called Rāwat 'Ārd.'⁷ Khusraw mentions Hindu cavalymen under Kaiqubād.⁸ When Malik Chhajjū rebelled against Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī, large numbers of Hindu cavalymen offered their services to him.⁹ Hindu soldiers fought not only for Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Khusraw but also for his opponent Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq.¹⁰ His army on this occasion had Ghuzz, Turkish, Mongol, Greek, Russian, Persian, Tājik and Hindu soldiers.¹¹ While wrestling and archery were prized, great stress was laid on horsemanship, together with skill in the use of the lance, the sword and other weapons. The smartness of the soldier and the elegance of his personal appearance

¹ Baranī; Minhāj. ² S. A., p. 66, E & D., iii, p. 576; Masālik-u'l-absār, p. 26. ³ Sarwānī, f. 69a. ⁴ Baihaqī, pp. 613, 756, etc.

⁵ Idem, p. 756.

⁶ Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh, p. 33.

⁷ 'Rāwat' means a Hindu cavalryman in contemporary literature, Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ, pp. 91, 95. ⁸ Qirān-u's-sa'dain, p. 36.

⁹ Baranī, p. 182.

¹⁰ Tughlūq-nāmah, pp. 128, 131. 'Ṭāmī' mentions Hindu generals, e.g., Gul Chandra on p. 378; Muḥammad bin Tughluq's Hindu generals are mentioned on pp. 422, 423.

¹¹ Tughluq-nāmah, p. 84.

struck foreign observers.¹ The sultans always maintained large numbers of Hindu cavalry.²

From very early times the Muslim army was organized on a decimal basis.³ The system persisted under the Ghaznavids, through whom it descended to the sultans of Dehli. Bughrā Khān, in his last advice to his son, Kaiqubād, describes the military grades. A *sar-i-khail* had ten horsemen under him ; a *sipah-sālār* directed ten *sar-i-khails* ; an *amīr* commanded ten *sipah-sālārs* ; a *malik* had authority over ten *amīrs* and a *khān's* forces contained at least those of ten *maliks*.⁴ The existence of the decimal system is supported by the *Ṣubḥ-u'l-a'shā* ; according to this book, a *khān* had ten thousand horsemen or more, a *malik* had a thousand, an *amīr* a hundred, and a *sipah-sālār* less.⁵ Baranī repeatedly mentions *amīrān-i-panjāh*, *amīrān-i-ṣadah* and *amīrān-i-hazārah*.⁶ Khusraw tells us that in the reign of Kaiqubād 'five thousand famous *maliks*,' commanded more than a hundred thousand soldiers.'⁷ The poet seems to have used the term *malik* loosely for a military officer. It appears that in practice an *amīr* commanded from fifty to a thousand soldiers, and the minimum force under a *malik* was a thousand soldiers. Khusraw also mentions the Mughul term *tūmān* which signifies 10,000 soldiers. A curious fact is that the title *sipah-sālār*, though later it denoted no more than a centurion, was, at one time, applied to the commander-in-chief and was proudly displayed by the great Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak on his buildings.⁸ Islām Shāh Sūr

¹ A. M., f 130 ; The Batiagarh stone inscription of 1328 mentions Hindu soldiers employed by the Muslim government ; *Epigraphia Indica*, XII, pp. 44, 45 ; S. A., p. 66.

² Baranī, e.g., p. 86. *Dhānuk*, *kahārs* are Hindu castes. ³ J. Z., p. 130.

⁴ Baranī, p. 145 ; also mentioned in *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 72. Khusraw says in *Qirān-u's-sa'dam* (p. 101) that Chhajjū Khān had several thousand soldiers under him.

⁵ S. A., p. 67 ; E. & D., iii, pp. 576, 577 ; *Masālik-u'l-abyār*, p. 29.

⁶ Baranī, e.g., p. 495.

⁷ *Qirān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 35.

⁸ E.g., *Āthār-u's-ṣanādīd*, plate 17.

organized his army under commanders of 50, 150, 200 and 500. The 'higher officers were each given five, ten or twenty thousand.¹ Unattached soldiers were called *mufraqs*.² Clerks were attached to each division for keeping accounts and registers. There were other officers whose duty was to marshal the troops for review or for battle; the *naqibs* shouted orders and the *chā'ushes* and the *sahm-u'l-ḥashms* arranged the soldiers in lines.³ Great attention was paid to the maintenance of discipline; every subordinate was expected to obey his superior promptly.⁴ Care was taken to prevent damage to cultivation or property even in hostile country, unless a place was given up to plunder.⁵

The soldier's pay must have varied at different times. Under 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī* a fully equipped cavalryman drew two hundred and thirty-four *tankahs* per annum.⁶ This figure, however, should be interpreted in terms of normal prices; because, to get a soldier at that figure, the sultan had to regulate prices severely. The extravagant Muḥammad bin Tughluq paid about five hundred *tankahs* with food, dress and fodder. It is not clear if the soldier received dress and food only when he was on active service or in normal times as well; the difference would be immaterial towards the end of the reign when the army was constantly employed against rebels. The *Masālik-u'l-abṣār* also gives the salaries of the officers: a *khān* was paid a lakh of *tankahs*, a *malik* fifty to sixty thousand, an *amīr* thirty to forty thousand, a *sipah-sālār* twenty thousand or so, and petty officials received one to ten thousand a

¹ *Dā'irah*, f. 103a.

² *Vide supra* p. 147, f n 5. In some respects they corresponded to the *aḥadis* under the Mughuls.

³ *Tughluq-nāmah*, p. 92; *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 180a; *Qurān-u's-sa'dain*, p. 84; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 182.

⁴ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 112.

⁵ *Sarwānī*, f. 73b.

⁶ *Vide Appendix J.*

⁷ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 29. The *Subḥ-u'l-a'shā* (p. 71) says that a *khān* drew two lakhs of *tankahs* and that a soldier drew from one to ten thousand. This is less probable.

year.⁷ Soldiers were paid directly by the state.¹ The nobles were given assignments during the greater part of the period, but the soldiers usually received their pay in cash.² The systems of assignment and valuation resulted in profit to the noble who often got much more than their official salary.³ These assignments were for the personal salary of the officers and did not include the pay of the soldiers.⁴ The regular troops, called *wajhīs*, constituted a standing army; irregulars, called *ghair-wajhīs*, were employed for short periods. Sometimes payment was made by an order on some local treasury; this cheque was called an *īlāq* and its holder an *īlāqdār*. This was only a method of payment and had no bearing on the status of the soldier.⁵ Fīrūz Shāh revived the assignment system for the soldiers to such an extent that he made it almost hereditary.⁶ He even allowed the old and aged soldiers to send their relations to musters and campaigns.⁷ It was under the Lodis that the army became tribal and was attached to the nobles instead of being under the direct control of the sultan.⁸

The size of the army varied much from time to time.

Numbers and
efficiency.

'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī commanded four hundred and seventy-five thousand horsemen.⁹ Muḥammad bin Tughluq's cavalry is said to have consisted of nine hundred thousand soldiers.¹⁰ Kaiqubād mustered a hundred thousand mounted soldiers at Dehlī when he made preparations to march against his father.¹¹ 'Afif says that Fīrūz Shāh had ninety thousand soldiers excluding his slaves.¹² He recruited a

¹ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 28.

² *Baranī*, p. 442, E & D., iii, p. 579; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 29.

³ E. & D., iii, p. 577, *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 29.

⁴ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 28.

⁵ 'Afif, pp. 296, 297, 369, 370, etc. Vide Appendix F.

⁶ 'Afif, pp. 95, 96; *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, pp. 21, 22; *Sīrat-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 151.

⁷ *Sarwānī*, f. 8a.

⁸ 'Afif, p. 303.

⁹ *Firishṭah*, i, p. 200

¹⁰ S. A., p. 66; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 26.

¹¹ *Qurān-u's-sa'da'in*, pp. 35, 47.

¹² 'Afif, p. 298 (footnote).

hundred and eighty thousand slaves, but several thousand of these were employed in civil capacities. The number of his soldiers must, however, have been fairly large to permit the presence of eighty thousand in his camp when he advanced for the second time on Bengal.¹ Sher Shāh had twenty-five thousand artillerymen at the capital, and several thousand in important forts.² The sultans also possessed a fleet of river boats, called *baḥr*, under an *amīr-i-baḥr*, which was used mainly for police duties and transport.³ The efficiency of the army, so long as it was under central control, was beyond question. Even the nobles who fought Timūr at Dehlī fought well, and the great conqueror did not consider it an easy victory.⁴ The tribal hordes of the Loḍīs were easily swept away by Bābur, but when properly led by Sher Shāh, the Afghān soldiers drove out the Mughuls, who could return only when anarchy had, once again, replaced central control.

¹ *Idem*, p. 270.² *Afif*, pp. 144-145.³ *Mushṭāqī*, f. 49a.⁴ *Afif*, p. 199.⁵ *Zafar-nāmah*, ii, p. 109.

CHAPTER VIII

JUSTICE, HİSBAH AND POLICE

The ministry for religious affairs was under the *şadr-u'ş-şudūr* who, throughout the period, was also the *qāḍī-i-mumālīk*, or the chief judge of the empire.¹ His activities as the *şadr* will be discussed later ; it is necessary first to describe the organization of justice. The sultan as the chief enforcer of the Law and head of the state exercised three functions which touched the administration of justice in several respects. He was the defender of the Faith and the arbitrator in the disputes of his subjects : he was the head of the bureaucracy ; he was the commander-in-chief of the forces.² In his first capacity he dispensed justice through the *dīwān-i-qaḍā* ; in his second capacity through the *dīwān-i-mazālim* ; while he himself or his military commanders sat as a court-martial to try rebels, though it was considered necessary to obtain a ruling from qualified lawyers.³ Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who probably had more men executed than all the other sultans of Dehlī put together, had to organize a separate department called *dīwān-i-siyāsāt*, for the number of cases was so large that special jurists had to be employed.⁴ It is significant that even he did not condemn a man to death until he had overcome the jurists with his arguments. The lawyers would have had a better chance against a less learned monarch.

¹ S. A., p. 72 ; *Masālik-u'l-abşār*, p. 32.

² *Vide* Chapter II.

³ This has given rise to a misunderstanding that the judicial, military and executive functions of the government were not well defined. Actually the sultan or his officers acted as a martial court in trying rebels.

⁴ *Baranī*, p. 497.

This *dīwān* embraced officers of two kinds: the *muftī*, who gave the ruling, and the *mutafahḥiṣ*, who inquired into facts.¹ In addition, there were executive officers and clerks called *amīrs* and *mūtaṣarrifs*.² It is not on record how far the military governors were empowered to punish acts of contumacy and rebellion. As prisoners of war and rebels were often sent to the capital, the governors do not seem to have possessed independent powers of inflicting capital punishment.³ Enemies and rebels, however, were sometimes executed in the provinces on receipt of instructions from headquarters.⁴

(The *dīwān-i-mazālim*, as an organized institution, dates back to the time of 'Alī. The Abbasid *dīwān-i-mazālim*. caliphs either themselves gave audience or instructed their *wazīrs* to do so.⁵ The Hindus also considered it the duty of their monarchs to hear complaints in public audience.⁶ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* implies that the *dīwān-i-mazālim* was presided over by the *amīr-i-dād*; this would be true only when the sultan was not present in person.) Ibn Baṭṭūṭah says that Muḥammad bin Tughluq heard complaints every Monday and Thursday. First a suppliant would go to one of the *ḥāyibs* who were entrusted with this duty; it is interesting to note that Firūz, who later succeeded to the throne, was one of them. If the suitor failed to gain redress, he could go to the *qāḍī-i-mumālīk*. The last resort was the sultan, access to whom does not seem to have been too difficult.⁸ A complaint to the sultan seems to have been very effective, for creditors made a point of dunning defaulting debtors in front of the palace.⁹ The *Ṣubḥ-u'l-a'shā* gives a picturesque account of a court of *mazālim*. The sultan sat on a high throne overlaid with

¹ Baranī, p. 497.² *Ibid.*³ E.g. Baranī, p. 321.⁴ E.g., *Idem*, pp. 322, 504. 'Azīz Khummār seems to have been given a general authority to deal with suspected rebels by Muḥammad bin Tughluq.⁵ J. Z., pp. 187-189.⁶ *Political Institutions of the Hindus*, p. 176.⁷ *Minhāj*, pp. 274-276.⁸ *Dīwān-i-Ḥasan Sajzī*, p. 42; I. B., ii, p. 53.⁹ I. B., ii, p. 84.

gold, surrounded by his bodyguard and officers. The *qāḍī-i-mumālīk* sat at the monarch's side to give him legal advice. When the ushers had announced the opening of the court, the suitors stepped forward and presented their complaints.¹ On days when the sultan did not sit in public, the *ḥājibs* received the complaints and passed them on to the chief *ḥājib* who submitted them to the sultan. Under Sikandar Lodī, the *wazīr* presided over the *mazālim* court: the legal advice was given by the *qāḍī* who was assisted by twelve learned lawyers.² Suppliants could also present petitions when the sultan rode out; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentions the bell in the palace of İltutmış with a chain so that any suppliant could ring it.³ The governors were required to sit as courts of *mazālim*. They were helped by the *ṣāḥib-i-diwān* and the *qāḍī*. The courts of *mazālim* heard complaints against officials. Sometimes disputes were settled by the executive; in such cases it was open to the parties to go to civil courts if they felt dissatisfied with the award.

The *diwān-i-qaḍā* had contacts with the departments of *siyāsat* and *mazālim*; but its main concern was civil litigation. It may be said that *qaḍā* dealt with common law and *siyāsat* and *mazālim* with *droit administratif*. The head of the *diwān-i-qaḍā* was the *qāḍī-i-mumālīk*, also known as *qāḍī-i-quḍāt*.⁴ Under the sultans he was almost invariably the *ṣadr-u's-ṣudūr* as well, and was one of the most important officials. On account of the very heavy work arising from the nature of his duties, he was assisted by a *nā'ib* who also was an

¹ S. A., p. 73; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 34, 49-51.

² *Dā'udī*, f. 26. The author here uses the word *dār-u'l-'adālat*. The technical terms used by Afghān authors are often misleading, for they freely borrow new names for old institutions. The *Majāmi'-u'l-aḥhbār* (f. 396a) uses the word *mazālim* for the institution under Sher Shāh.

³ I. B., II, p. 21.

⁴ The *diwān-i-qaḍā* finds mention in the chronicles as well as in contemporary literature. e.g., *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 7.

important dignitary.¹ The chief *qāḍī* enjoyed a salary of sixty thousand *tankahs* a year under Muḥammad bin Tughluq.² The whole legal system and the administration of religious affairs were in his charge. He heard appeals from the lower courts and appointed the local *qāḍīs*.³ In the beginning he also sat as a court of first instance in Dehlī, but later a separate *qāḍī* was appointed for the capital.⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah was appointed to this subordinate office and was given a salary of twelve thousand *tankahs* a year. Since he followed Imām Mālik's system of jurisprudence and as the people of Dehlī were Ḥanafīs, also because he did not know the language, he was assisted by two other *qāḍīs*. Great importance was attached to the *qāḍī* of the capital; the sultan himself invested Ibn Baṭṭūṭah with the office and addressed the new incumbent as 'our lord and master'.⁵

It was considered so necessary to have a *qāḍī* in every town of any dimensions that the first administrative business always included his appointment.⁶ In the beginning of the Muslim empire, the *qāḍī's* function was to settle disputes, but later his jurisdiction widened considerably and embraced the supervision and management of the property of orphans and lunatics, the execution of testamentary dispositions and the supervision of *awqāf*; he even helped destitute widows to find suitable husbands. He was ultimately responsible for street maintenance and the prevention of encroachments on public thoroughfares or on open spaces.⁷ All contested property was to be deposited with the *qāḍī* or his nominee.⁸ It was the duty of the local governors and officials to help the *qāḍī* in maintaining the dignity of the law and to

¹ Baranī, p. 351.

² E. & D., iii, p. 578.

³ I'jāz-i-*Khusravī*, ii, p. 13. An interesting parallel is found in Alp Arsalān's *farmān* appointing a chief *qāḍī*; *Majmū'ah-i-murāsīlāt*, f. 8a.

⁴ *Minhāj*, p. 220.

⁵ I. B., ii, pp. 81, 82.

⁶ *Minhāj*, p. 117.

⁷ J. Z., pp. 183-187.

⁸ *Hidayah*, p. 336.

co-operate with him in bringing wrongdoers to their senses.¹ The *qāḍīs* were directly appointed by the centre and were completely independent of the governors.² The *qāḍī* was to decide by the *shar'* and '*ādah*', or in accordance with equity and reason depending on 'analogy.' Compromise of cases was permitted, provided it did not violate the law. All Muslims were reliable witnesses except those convicted of serious offences or perjury or suspected of partiality. The *qāḍī* could revise his own judgment on the basis of fresh evidence or even of reasoning on his own part.³

An important officer associated with justice was the *amīr-i-dād*. The *amīr-i-dād* at the capital was an important officer and was strong enough to take part in high politics; for instance, 'Alī Ismā'il was the leader of the party which invited *Īltutmish* to claim the throne of Dehli.⁴ In the absence of the sultan, the *amīr-i-dād* presided over the court of *maẓālim*; in the monarch's presence he was responsible for its executive and administrative business.⁵ Generally a man of high rank and of known piety and learning was appointed to this post and a large salary was paid to him, for he had to try complaints against governors and high commanders.⁶ Muḥammad bin Tughluq paid his *amīr-i-dād* fifty thousand *tankaḥs*. The *amīr-i-dād* had his assistants in the provinces as well as with the army.⁷ His department played an important part in the administration of the courts presided over by the *qāḍīs*. The *amīr-i-dād* looked after the executive side of justice; it was his duty to see that the *qāḍī's*

¹ 'Alā-u'd-dīn Rūmī's letter (f. 11a) and Alp Arslān's letters patent (f. 8a) in *Majmū'ah-i-murāsīlāt*; also *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 38.

² *History of the Saracens*, p. 62; *I'jaz-i-Khusrawī*, ii, p. 13.

³ 'Umar's letters patent, J.R.A.S., 1910, pp. 307-326.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, p. 16; *Minhāj*, p. 170, *Tāj*, f. 195b.

⁵ *Minhāj*, pp. 274-276; Raverty omits the important word '*maẓālim*' from his translation. Also, A. M., ff. 44-46.

⁶ A. M., ff. 4b-46b; I. B., ii, p. 481.

⁷ E.g., *Minhāj*, p. 188, *Baranī*, pp. 358, 361.

decisions were carried out. In these courts he was the judge neither of law nor of fact; his duty was to enforce the sentence.¹ If he felt that there had been a miscarriage of justice, he could either draw the attention of the *qāḍī* to the fact or delay the execution of the decision until the matter was reconsidered by a fuller or a higher court.² The *amir-i-dād* was also responsible for the proper maintenance of mosques, bridges and public buildings, also of the city walls and gates. He controlled the *kotwāl*, the police and the *muhtasib*.³ His office kept copies of the documents registered with the *qāḍī*; it was his duty to forbid a covenant which transgressed the law.⁴

The cases arising out of disputes between non-Muslim subjects were decided in the ordinary courts; only the decision was based on customary law. Cases between Muslims and non-Muslims were decided according to principles of equity. Very few cases between Hindu litigants would come to the courts, for the village *panchāyats* functioned down to the British period and the caste *panchāyats* are potent even to-day.

More important than the organization of law-courts was the spirit which governed them. The spirit of justice. The Prophet is reported to have said that a moment spent in the dispensation of justice is better than seventy years of devotion.⁵ "Dominion can subsist in spite of misbelief," says the *Siyāsāt-nāmah*, "but it cannot endure with the existence of injustice."⁶ The sultans considered it their primary duty to maintain justice.⁷ No government

¹ A. M., ff. 44b-45b; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter XIX.

² A. M., ff. 44b-45b. ³ *Idem*, ff. 45b, 46a.

⁴ A. M., f. 45a.

⁵ *Nihāyat-u'l-arab*, p. 33; also quoted in *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter LXXXIX; *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 161.

⁶ *Siyāsāt-nāmah*, p. 8; *Tāj*, f. 9b.

⁷ *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter I, where Firūz Shāh proclaims that all his energy is directed towards the maintenance of justice in the four corners of his empire.

could, in the Middle Ages, succeed completely in wiping out corruption and injustice, but the sultanate provided a well-organized department of justice ; by making all proceedings public and dividing responsibility and power among different officials, it established an effective system of checks and balances. The officials were generally chosen for their learning as well as piety, and there can be little doubt that most of them approached their work in a spirit of devotion.¹ When 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī appointed a chief *qāḍī* as a reward for general services and not for character, it proved very unpopular.² Some sultans set a high example of justice. Balban inflicted the extreme penalty on a governor who was guilty of murder when he was drunk ; Muḥammad bin Tughluq appeared as a defendant in a *qāḍī's* court and after the case had been proved against him insisted on the penalty.³ Indeed Ibn Battūṭah mentions several occasions when this harsh monarch showed great humility and respect for law. Once a noble made a complaint before the *qāḍī* that the sultan had executed his brother unjustly ; the sultan appeared unarmed before the *qāḍī* having walked to the court, and saluted the judge with great respect. The case went against the monarch who compensated the noble. The *qāḍī* had been instructed not to rise when the sultan entered the court. On another occasion a man complained that the sultan owed him money ; the monarch appeared before the *qāḍī* and paid the debt.⁴ Firūz Shāh did not hesitate to execute a favourite who was found guilty of murder ; nor did he allow a high state official to escape capital punishment for murdering an obscure student who tutored his children and was guilty of a love intrigue with a woman in the nobleman's palace.⁵ The sultan showed this severity in spite of his abhorrence of capital punish-

¹ *Baranī*, p. 44.

² *Idem*, p. 352.

³ *Baranī*, pp. 40, 44, 45, I. B., iii, p. 285.

⁴ I. B., iii, pp. 285, 286.

⁵ 'Aḥḍaf, pp. 503-508.

ment.¹ When Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī wanted Sayyidī Maulā, who was suspected of conspiracy and high treason, to vindicate himself by walking through fire, the lawyers vetoed the idea by saying that fire did not distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. The sultan bowed before the decision, though he instigated and connived at the Sayyidī's murder. Though everyone believed in the truth of the allegation, the sultan's action proved unpopular.² It is true that there are actions of illegal tyranny on record, but they contravene the real spirit of the government.

The *muhtasib* was expected to suppress illegal practices and punish the wrongdoers; he was
Husbah. regarded as the defender of public decency and the protector of the rights of the weak against the strong.³ It was his duty to see that public prayers were conducted properly; that no one was found drunk in public places; that intoxicating liquors and drugs were not manufactured or sold publicly; that no one practised fraud or cheated others.⁴ He stopped gambling, illegal marriages and acts of indecency.⁵ Another duty was to compel debtors to pay their debts, provided they accepted the obligation and had the capacity to pay. If the defendant denied the debt or the capacity to discharge it, the matter would go to the *qāḍī* for the *muhtasib* was not a judge.⁶ The jurists limit his jurisdiction to cases arising out of a wrongdoing only; he could intervene in the matter of debts only to the extent of preventing wilful and mischievous non-payment. He could not intervene in contracts and business transactions as well,

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i, pp. 238-239; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter I; *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 120.

² *Baranī*, pp. 211, 212. 'Iṣāmī believes that Sayyidī Maulā was executed without the sultan's knowledge; p. 210.

³ *Khaṣṣat-in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 18; J. Z., pp. 189, 190; *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 39; *Aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 427, 528. ⁴ *Aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 239-241.

⁵ *Ibid.*, also, *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, ff. 8, 9.

⁶ *Aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 228-230; V. K., pp. 292-296.

unless it was an evident case of fraud. Another important difference between the functions of the *qāḍī* and the *muḥtasib* was that the latter possessed spontaneous power of intervention, whereas the *qāḍī* could not act unless litigants appealed to him. The *muḥtasib* was an executive officer ; the *qāḍī* a judge.¹ It was the *muḥtasib*'s duty to protect slaves and servants from maltreatment. He stopped masters from exacting too much work from their servants ; his protection extended to domestic animals as well, so that they were not overloaded, made to work beyond their capacity or cruelly treated.² He arranged for the nursing and bringing up of foundlings.³ School-masters who beat their pupils severely were reprimanded or even punished.⁴ He looked after public utilities : water supply, city walls, the amenities for travellers and the maintenance of public buildings alike received his attention.⁵ He looked after thoroughfares ; ordered the demolition of houses likely to collapse ; controlled the height of new buildings to ensure privacy to the neighbours ; and stopped any action which might cause annoyance or discomfort.⁶ He inspected boats before they set sail to ensure that they were safe and not overloaded.⁷ It was his duty to see that public buildings and thoroughfares were lighted, that markets, hospices and *sarā'is* were properly maintained and that sanitation was satisfactory.⁸ In short, the *muḥtasib* was responsible for the smooth running of civil life in a city.

(The *muḥtasib* has often been called the censor of public morals; this appellation is correct to the extent that he did not allow any open infringement of the law. He was, however, not given the power of violating the privacy of homes : nor was he allowed

¹ V. K., pp. 292, 296, J.R.A.S., 1916, pp. 77-101.

² *Proleg.*, p. 196 ; J. Z., pp. 189, 190 ; *Aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 243, 244.
V K., pp. 292-296. ³ V. K., pp. 292-296.

⁴ J. Z., pp. 189, 190 ; *Proleg.*, pp. 232, 233.

⁵ *Aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 243, 244

⁶ J. Z., pp. 189, 190, *Proleg.*, p. 196. ⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Sīrat-i-Fīrūzshāhi*, p. 180.

to spy on others. (He was concerned only with flagrant violations and open misdemeanours.¹ The state gave the *muhtasib* every help in performing this duty and placed a small civil force at his disposal.² Apart from the religious necessity of maintaining morals, it was soon discovered that a people situated as the Muslims were in India could not be allowed to grow lax in its ethical and spiritual conduct without endangering the very existence of the sultanate. We read from the beginning that the sultans appointed *qāḍīs* and *muhtasibs* in every town where they decided to post a Muslim garrison or establish a Muslim colony.³ At intervals chroniclers mention interference on the part of the sultans with new customs which were considered to be un-Islamic or degrading; and (the stronger the sultan, the greater was his interest in the moral and religious life of his people. Balban is reported to have considered an efficient *ḥisbah* a primary necessity of good government; 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī rigorously suppressed drinking, gambling and other indecencies; Muḥammad bin Tughluq inflicted punishment on such transgressors with his wonted severity.⁴) 'Alā-u'd-dīn ascribed the contumacy of his nobles and their military inefficiency to the laxity in the morals of his people; otherwise the severity against smugglers and sellers of intoxicants, the prohibition of pleasure parties, the deterrent punishment of adultery would be meaningless.⁵ The Khaljī monarch was face to face with rebellion at home and the menace of Mongol invasion; the first measure to meet that danger was the moral regeneration of his people. It was fortunate that he was helped in his work by the presence in Dehlī at that time of a man of great spiritual strength and influence, the saint Nizām-u'd-dīn.⁶ (Khusrāw speaks highly of 'Alā-u'd-dīn's *ḥisbah*; indeed, as will be shown later, most of his special

¹ *Aḥkām-u's-sultāniyah*, pp. 243, 244. ² *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 39.

³ E.g., *Minhāj*, p. 175; *Utbi*, p. 288; *Tāj*, e.g., 85a.

⁴ *Baranī*, pp. 35, 41, 72, 285, etc.; S. A., p. 63; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 38, 52.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 285, 296, 386; *Iṣāmī*, pp. 305, 306.

⁶ *Idem*, pp. 341-348.

measures amounted to a more efficient organization of the *diwān-i-riyāsāt*.¹ Sultān *Ghiyāth*-u'd-dīn Tughluq maintained *hisbah* at a high level of efficiency.² In his son's reign Ibn Baṭṭūṭah was impressed with the strict way in which the observance of religious rites was enforced at the court.³ The *muḥtasib* under Muḥammad bin Tughluq was an officer of great dignity and drew a salary of eight thousand *tankahs*.⁴ The sultan in person acted, at times, as the *muḥtasib*, and examined Muslims on elementary rules of Islam. If they failed to satisfy him, they were punished. He regarded wilful neglect of prayers a heinous crime and great was the chastisement of the transgressors.⁵ A lady belonging to the royal family was found guilty of adultery and stoned to death.⁶ The sultan inflicted the punishment of eighty stripes and three months' solitary confinement on drunkards.⁷ (Fīrūz, whose adherence to the Faith was equally staunch, did not relax the *ḥisāb*; indeed he himself tells us how he prohibited practices which he considered illegal and undesirable.⁸) We do not hear much about the activities of this department during the anarchy which followed. (Sultān Sikandar Lodī, whose interest in religious matters and whose zeal for Islam were exceptional, must have strengthened *hisbah* even more than other organs of government. He, for instance, prohibited the custom of carrying the *nezahs* from various parts of the country to the tomb of the warrior-saint, Sālār Mas'ūd *Ghāzī*.⁹ He also revived Fīrūz *Shāh*'s ordinance that women should not visit tombs.)

An important function of the *muḥtasib* was to maintain Religious opinion. purity of doctrine and to discourage heresy.¹⁰ He, therefore, kept an eye on the preacher as well as the pedagogue. The Karmathians

¹ *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, pp. 18, 19.

² *Baranī*, p. 441. ³ I. B., ii, p. 34. ⁴ S. A., p. 72; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 32.

⁵ I. B., ii, pp. 34, 52. ⁶ *Idem*, ii, p. 54. ⁷ *Idem*, ii, p. 106.

⁸ *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 2; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter VII

⁹ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 24a, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 336. —

¹⁰ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 9a; *Sociology of Islam*, i, pp. 369, 370.

carried bloodshed and slaughter into the chief mosque of the empire in the reign of Raḍiyah, and had to be suppressed by the orthodox in self-defence.¹ They, however, raised their heads again under Fīrūz Shāh who combatted against this sect and seems to have been successful.² He also rooted out various other heresies.³ A heresy of much greater strength was the Mahdawī movement which came to a head under Islām Shāh Sūr; this sultan at the insistence of his court theologians executed Shāikh 'Alā'ī whose courage and purity of character excite admiration.⁴ The *muhtasib*, however, could not interfere with the religious life of the *dhimmīs*; he could only take cognizance of an open insult to the Muslim Faith like the vilification of some prophet. It was his duty to see that the *dhimmīs* did not violate the terms they had accepted at the time of the conquest; he was equally responsible for keeping the Muslims faithful to the covenant.⁵ When Sikandar Lodī was carried away by his zeal and wanted to destroy an old temple and stop Hindu pilgrims from bathing in the sacred water, he was prevented by Malik-u'l-'ulamā 'Abd-u'llah Ajodhanī who risked his life to safeguard the rights of the *dhimmīs*.⁶ The Hindus were not allowed to wear the dress peculiar to the doctors of Muslim Law.⁷ The solitary instance of a Muslim ruler objecting to the preaching of Hindu doctrines to Muslims and converting them to Hinduism was of Fīrūz Shāh who inflicted severe punishment on a Brahman who had not only persuaded some

¹ Vide Chapter II

² *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 7.

³ *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, pp. 7-10; *Sirat-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 128.

⁴ *Badā'unī*, i, pp. 394-409.

The attitude of the state was clearly defined by Fīrūz Shāh: "In the empire of India there are no dissenting sects, there are only *Ahl-i-sunnat wa jamā'at*. So far as the polytheists are concerned, they live openly. Of these, those who have accepted *dhimmah* (i.e., those who have consented to become *dhimmīs*) are left free on payment of *jiziyah*; the others are those who fight, against whom we fight." *Sirat-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 128.

⁵ J. Z., pp. 189, 190.

⁶ *Dā'udī*, f. 19.

⁷ *Fiqh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, ff. 418-421.

Muslims to join him in idol-worship but even induced a Muslim woman to denounce Islam.¹ No ruler, however, interfered with religious propaganda by the Hindus among their own people; the contact with Islam brought about a great Hindu revival headed by the leaders of the *Bhakti* movement who have left a legacy of beautiful poetry as well as of mystical devotion. Kabīr was not the only Muslim to be deeply affected by the teachings of the *Bhakti* schools; there is no mention of any attempt to prevent the preaching of this Hindu doctrine among the Muslims, some of whom even accepted it and became the disciples of Hindu religious teachers.² Muḥammad bin Tughluq invited *yogis* to his private audience and took great interest in their practices.³ The sultan objected to the obnoxious sect of the *Ibāḥa-tiyahs*.⁴

The *muḥtasib*, as the protector of the interests of the people, supervised the markets and inspected weights and measures; he punished those who possessed inaccurate balances or who adulterated food.⁵ The control of the market, however, was often delegated to a subordinate officer, called a *ra'is*, who was also responsible for fixing a fair price, so that the interests of the producer as well as those of the consumer were safeguarded.⁶ He, therefore, required a full and expert knowledge of the market as well as a fair understanding of the laws of supply and demand.⁷ This department was called

¹ 'Afif, pp. 379-382.

² *Chaitanya's Pilgrimage and Teachings*, pp. 225-229. Also, *Aspects of Bengal Society*, p. 99

³ I B., ii, p. 102

⁴ Vide Appendix K.

⁵ *Siyāsāt-nāmah*, p. 49; J R. A.S., 1916; *Aḥkām-u's-sulṭāniyah*, pp. 239-241; J. Z., pp. 189, 190; *Fatāwā-ī-jahāndārī*, ff. 91-92, *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 17. 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khālji's* vigilance resulted in the general use of iron weights stamped with the seal of the *dīvān-i-riyāsāt*.

⁶ *Siyāsāt-nāmah*, p. 49, *Fatāwā-ī-jahāndārī*, ff. 91a-92a; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, p. 17. Sometimes the *muḥtasib* himself acted as the *ra'is*, e.g., I. B. (ii, p. 26) considers the two terms to be synonymous. Sometimes, however, the controller of the market was a non-Muslim who could not discharge the religious duties of the *muḥtasib*.

⁷ A. M., i, 46a, *Fatāwā-ī-jahāndārī*, ff. 91a-92a.

the *dīwān-i-riyāsat*, also '*adl*'.¹ Under the Caliphate, the *mūdīl*'s duty was to register deeds, and to inform the courts of a man's antecedents when he appeared as a witness.² This function was transferred to the *dād-bek* under the sultans, so the term '*adl*' came to be applied to the functions of the *dīwān-i-riyāsat*. The importance of trade was recognized from the very beginning in the sultanate ; Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak instructed his governors to encourage commerce.³ The office of *ra'īs* existed from the start, so some kind of price control was always maintained ; but probably these officers actively intervened only when guilds of traders or craftsmen exploited their virtual monopoly to the detriment of the people. In view of this knowledge, it is easier to understand 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's success in bringing prices down to a certain level and maintaining them there. The *dīwān-i-riyāsat* was an efficient instrument of economic control. 'Alā-u'd-dīn's greatness lies not in forging the instrument but in developing it and increasing its efficiency. He raised the value of the bullion in his treasury by reducing the prices of commodities and stabilizing them at a low level. His choice of a *ra'īs* was fortunate, because he was fully acquainted with the market, was efficient and exceedingly strict. The sultan, however, did not leave the working of the scheme entirely in the hands of Ya'qūb, the new *ra'īs*, but took pains to keep himself in touch with the work. A large number of inspectors were employed to enforce the new level of prices. Both the sultan and the *ra'īs* employed spies to discover any breach of the rules. Innocent children, slaves and professional spies were all used as agents to expose offenders ; and once an offender was discovered, the punishment was highly deterrent.⁴ But no amount of espionage or inspection could have succeeded if steps of a more scientific nature had not been taken. First, measures were

¹ Baranī, p. 385 ; Baihaqī, p. 352 ; *Khaẓẓa'īn-u'l-fulūḥ*, pp. 17, 22.

² Proleg., ii, xxxii.

³ Taj. f. 72a.

⁴ Baranī, pp. 316-319 ; 'Iṣāmī, p. 307 ; I. B., ii, p. 26.

taken to maintain the supplies of essential foodstuffs at the new prices. The state raised its demand to a half of the produce and realized it in kind. This grain was stored in granaries, and thus the state became the greatest dealer. Then, just as much grain was left with the cultivator as he was likely to require in the course of the year ; he had to sell the rest to authorized dealers at the rates fixed by the state. Thirdly, it was made a penal offence for any trader to store grain beyond the quantity he was likely to sell within a specified time ; nor was the consumer allowed to buy in excess of his recognized need. All carriers and dealers were registered ; their families were kept as hostages at Dehli or its vicinity. They were held collectively responsible for the offences of any member of their fraternity. The cultivator was encouraged to bring his own produce to market ; the fact that he did so shows that the dealer was left a fair margin of profit. No trade in grain was allowed except in the recognized and supervised markets. Thus, by the control of supply, transport and demand, the state succeeded in fixing and establishing a lower price for grain. Similar steps were taken to fix the prices of other commodities. Just as there was the *mandwī* for the trade in corn, the sultan erected a big market called *sarāi 'adl* where cloth and various other commodities were sold. Here the main difficulty was that the state was not in the same privileged position as in the corn trade ; it neither could hold the main supply in its hands, nor could it fix the prices at the source, for some of these commodities were imported. These factors must certainly have been taken into consideration in fixing prices. The supply was ensured by registering the merchants and giving them money to keep the market well stocked. The next step was to cut down the demand by rationing the goods, so that no one could buy without a licence from the *rai's* which was granted in accordance with a fixed scale. This drastic reduction in demand must have affected the limited medieval market consider-

ably and brought down prices.¹ Indeed economy was the watchword in 'Alā-u'd-dīn's reign ; the sultan is accused of niggardliness in dealing with men of learning and talent. The same measures of economy were forced on his people, not just for caprice, but in the highest interest of the people.² The sultan took similar steps to ensure a cheap supply of horses for his troops ; here the broad classification into grades could not be worked in practice without an expert and impartial adjudicator. The monarch often inspected the horses himself and punished the dealers who were found guilty of charging prices which disagreed with the fixed schedule. The general result of all these steps was that the sultan succeeded in reducing prices to the desired level ; his treasury sufficed not only to finance defensive measures against the Mongols but also to fit out conquering expeditions to the Deccan which brought more wealth.³ 'Alā-u'd-dīn's system ceased under Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh, not only because the latter was incapable of sustained effort but also because he was not faced with the same problems ; yet the *dīwān-i-riyāsat* continued to function.⁴ After the anarchy, when Sikandar Lodī put the government on a sound basis, we find him interested in the question of prices ; he read daily market reports submitted from the various parts of his dominions.⁵ His interest in commerce is shown by the fact that he established a new standard of weights and measures which endured long after him. The Sūrs also maintained the *dīwān-i-riyāsat* : Hīmū, who rose to the supreme command of the troops under 'Adlī, was at one time the superintendent of markets.⁶ The fact

¹ *Baranī*, pp. 304-319 ; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, pp. 22-24 ; *Tārīkh-i-alfi*, ii, f. 32h

² *Baranī*, pp. 365, 366. ³ *Idem*, pp. 312-314 ; 340-341

⁴ There are numerous references to the control of markets in Firūz Shāh's reign in *Inshā-i-Mahrū*, e.g., Letters XX, XXX. The state imported oil to break the monopoly of traders who had cornered the commodity in a provincial town. (*Idem*, Letter XXX)

⁵ *D'ādā*, f. 25a.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, ii, p. 119.

that prices were very low and commodities plentiful under the Lodis and yet the department of 'adl continued to function shows how deeply rooted the institution was in the sultanate of Dehlī.¹

Since the beginning of the sultanate the sultans had been anxious to maintain security in their dominions.² The routine duties of the police department were performed by the *kotwāl*; he corresponded roughly to the *sāhib-i-shurtaḥ* of the Caliphs.³ The *kotwāl's* force patrolled the city at night and guarded the thoroughfares. The *kotwāl* acted in co-operation with the inhabitants; he appointed a leading man as warden in every quarter who was responsible for seeing that no criminals were harboured by the people. The *kotwāl* maintained a register of the inhabitants of every quarter, kept himself informed of their activities and means of livelihood, and took cognizance of every new arrival and departure.⁴ His jurisdiction also extended to the rural areas.⁵ The *kotwāl* also acted as a committing magistrate.⁶ He was not a military officer and his force was essentially civil in character; though when the term was applied to the military commandant of a fort, it implied civil as well as military authority.⁷ The criminal code was severe and the punishments were deterrent.⁸ Sometimes, in cases of rebellion or some disgraceful behaviour, the criminal was paraded in the city.⁹ A rebel's life and property were at the mercy of the sultan: as this was well known, a rebel took

¹ *Dā'ūdī*, ff. 24a, 63b.

² *E.g.*, *Tāj*, ff. 80b, 84b, 149a, 157b.

³ Also called *Shahṇah*, *e.g.*, *Kulhyāt-i-Ḥasan Sajzī*, p. 42; I. B., II, p. 22.

⁴ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Book III, IV. Some functions changed under the Mughuls.

⁵ *D. A.*, p. 31.

⁶ *V. K.*, pp. 226, 227; *History of the Saracens*, pp. 63, 419.

⁷ *E.g.*, *Baranī*, pp. 135-136: for *Kotwāl* as a military commandant, *vide idem*, p. 302, *Tāj*, f. 82a.

⁸ Cruel forms of punishment for political offences crept into the Muslim world towards the end of the eleventh century of the Christian era. They were mostly borrowed from the Byzantine Empire: *Mez* p. 367.

⁹ *E.g.*, *Baranī*, p. 108.

the risk with his eyes open.¹ However, it was 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī who first introduced in Dehlī the pernicious system of punishing a rebel's family.² The penal code of the *shar'* was applied to the crimes which came under the jurisdiction of the *qāḍī*. Torture to exact a confession was unknown before 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī; Firūz Shāh stopped it.³ Under the latter sultan, an inquest was held on the death of a stranger and a document was drawn up with the signatures of the leading men of the locality to ensure that there had been no foul play.⁴ As Firūz does not claim this as one of his reforms, the system probably existed before him.

Sometimes one man held two or even more of the offices discussed in this chapter; this was more common in smaller towns.

¹ E.g., *Baranī*, p. 276.

² *Idem*, p. 253.

³ *Furūḡāt-i-Firūzshāhī*, pp. 2-5. The *shar'* forbade the extortion of confession by torture or intimidation and statements made under torture or threat could not be used as evidence: *Mez.*, p. 370.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, pp. 140, 141.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC WORKS

A state governed by the canonical law in the essential departments of its life naturally attached great importance to the ministry of religious affairs.¹ The *şadr-u'ş-şudūr* was a highly venerated official who not only enjoyed great prestige but also exercised much power. Generally the *qāḍī-i-mumālīk* combined with his duties as the chief judge of the empire the office of the chief *şadr* : thus the same man presided over both *dīwān-i-risālat* and *dīwān-i-qaḍā*.² Sometimes a preacher of exceptional eloquence was appointed as *khāṭib-u'l-khūṭabā* who ranked high in the order of precedence at the court.³ He was subordinate to the *şadr-u'ş-şudūr*. As head of the *dīwān-i-risālat*, he appointed the religious preachers and *imāms* to lead prayers and manage the mosques of the realm. These men had generally been trained at some college in theology : though they were not ordained or admitted to any organized priesthood. They do not appear to have been graded for purposes of service or payment. Sometimes the offices of *qaḍā*, *khūṭabā*, *imāmat*, *ḥisbah* and even *dādbekī* were given to one man ; this naturally happened more often in the earlier days of the sultanate when the Muslim population in some towns was limited to a small garrison.⁴ The *imāms* and other officials

¹ *Tāj*, f. 10a.

² *E.g.*, *Masāḥk-u'l-abşār*, p. 32 ; *S A*, p. 72 ; *Baranī*, p. 580. For *dīwān-i-risālat* vide *Baranī*, p. 374 ; also Chapter V. ³ *I. B.*, ii, pp. 36, 59.

⁴ *Minhāj*, p. 175 ; *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 41 ; *Inşhā-i-Māhrū*, Letter VII ; *Kulhiyāt-i-Ḥasan Sajzī*, p. 390. It was generally the first concern of a monarch to provide mosques in the conquered territories : *Tāj*, ff. 11a, 58a, etc.

of the same nature were mostly remunerated by assignments of land.¹ The offices of *qāḍī-i-mumālīk* and *ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr* were given to the same man because offices of a religious and legal nature were often concentrated in the hands of single individuals in the empire and it was considered desirable that these men should deal with one chief. Besides, the functions of a *qāḍī* have always been considered religious by nature, and it seemed only natural that the chief *qāḍī* should also be the chief religious dignitary of the state. The provincial *qāḍīs* also acted as *ṣadrs* in their respective areas.

The most important function of the *ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr* was to recommend men of learning and merit to the sultan for state stipends, so that they might devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge.² This patronage gave the chief *ṣadr* great influence over education as well as public opinion, for both pulpit and chair were controlled by men in the service of the state. There is, however, no instance on record of the sultan being able to influence the opinion of the '*ulamā* on any point of law. The exaltation of the royal authority had begun under the Abbāsids; the '*ulamā* of the sultanate can be accused only of lack of originality in the interpretation of the Muslim law in the realm of politics.) In every other respect they showed a sturdy independence. It was a *qāḍī* who boldly criticized 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī*'s government; another doctor of the sacred law protected the rights of the *dhimmīs* when Sikan-dar Lodī's zeal was carrying him away.³ The *ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr* was not so much controller of opinion as guardian of learning. It was, therefore, considered necessary to give the office

¹ It is interesting to note that the custom of including cultivated as well as uncultivated land in the assignment is much older than Akbar's reign: *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter XXI. For the nature of these assignments vide Appendix F.

² E.g., Baranī, p. 580; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 33

³ Baranī, pp. 289-296; *Dā'irāt*, f. 19, r

to a man whose piety was above question ; when a less worthy appointment was made, it caused a great scandal.¹ In no other way was education controlled by the state. It is true that the *muhtasib* was responsible for the purity of doctrine ; but his authority was exercised only to prevent disruptive heresy. Baranī complains of 'the heretic Sa'd, the logician 'Ubaid, the misbelieving poet and Najm-i-Intishār, the philosopher' who had exerted bad influence on Muḥammad bin Tughluq ; it is obvious that their views must have been unorthodox in the extreme, yet no one seems to have molested them.² There are few instances of prosecution for heretical views ; these only took place when such preachers became a political danger. The colleges were free to manage their own affairs ; their sources of income were large endowments. The students were charged no fees ; they were supported by the college. The *madrasah* in the days of the sultanate was the repository of all that was best in the arts and sciences of the Middle Ages. Indeed the sultanate of Dehlī was the preserver of all that was left of Islamic culture and learning in the East after the Mongol cataclysm. At that time the Muslim empire of India was in the vanguard of human progress not a fallen wayfarer abandoned by the caravan to muse on its past glories.

The splendour of the Mughul Empire has dimmed the memory of the greatness of the sultanate of Dehlī ; human imagination often likes to create a contrast for the sake of effect. The sultanate was by no means a less enthusiastic patron of art and letters ; it deserves the title of a culture state just as much as the empire of the Great Mughul.³ The sultans, irrespective of their idiosyncracies, were keen supporters of learning and culture. Lack of space forbids an attempt to

¹ Baranī, pp. 298, 352.

² *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 121a.

³ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 11 ; Khusrāw says of Dehlī :

ز علم با عمل دهلی بخارا

(*Diwalrānī Khudr Khān*, p. 46).

present here a cultural history of the sultanate even in brief outline, nor is this the proper place for it; but it is necessary to give some indication of the interest taken by the state in the enlightenment of the people.

The Ghaznavid dynasty did not forget the great traditions of Mahmūd; it maintained a brilliant and enlightened court at Lahor, which became famous as a centre of Islamic culture. The *Lubāb-u'l-albāb* gives a long list of famous scholars and poets who adorned the Ghaznavid court in the Panjāb; of these there are some whose fame remains undimmed by the passage of time.¹ Abū'l-Faraj-a'r-Rūnī, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān and Sanā'ī will live as long as Persian is read and understood. The Ghurids were the successors of the Ghaznavids and inherited the tradition of learning.² The sultanate of Dehli was not founded by savages; men who could conceive and build the screen in the Masjid-i-Qubbat-u'l-Islām were no barbarians.³ Indeed, Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak was as particular about the style of the announcement of a victory as he was enthusiastic about the actual conquest.⁴ He spent the scanty leisure snatched from the conduct of arduous campaigns in the company of men of learning and distinction.⁵ Attracted by his generosity which earned him the titles of *lak-bakhsh* and *pīl-bakhsh*, poets, litterateurs and jurists flocked to his court.⁶ His successor,

¹ *Lubāb-u'l-albāb*, Chapter IX; *Chahār Maqālāh*, Discourse II, Anecdote XVIII.

² E.g., *Tāj*, f. 46.

³ *Quwwat-u'l-Islām* is a corruption. The mosque is mentioned in no chronicle by that name. The old city of Dehli was called Qubbat-u'l-Islām. The main mosque of this city naturally came to be known as Masjid-i-Qubbat-u'l-Islām. Sir Syed Ahmad seems to have adopted the name *Quwwat-u'l-Islām*, probably thinking that Qubbat-u'l-Islām was a corruption of *Quwwat-u'l-Islām*.

⁴ *Tāj*, f. 73b.

⁵ *Idem*, f. 65a.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh*, pp. 51, 52. *Lak-bakhsh* = one who bestows lacs (a lac = 100,000); *pīl-bakhsh* = one who bestows elephants.

Iltutmish, built a college in Dehli, which was later repaired by Fīrūz Shāh.¹ The court became an asylum for the learned who were driven from their homes by the Mongols and gathered lustre from the new-comers.² The famous Rūhānī took refuge at Dehli and wrote famous odes in the sultan's honour.³ Another poet was Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Rezab, the *dabīr-i-khāṣ*.⁴ It was in this sultan's reign that 'Awfī wrote his famous *Jawāmi'-u'l-ḥikāyāt* and dedicated it to the prime minister, Nizām-u'l-mulk Muḥammad ibn abī Sa'd Junaidī.⁵ Under the sultan's successors thrived *Shihāb-i-Muḥmarah*, to whose merit the great *Khusraw* bears testimony.⁶

*The number of refugees grew very large under Balban and included a crowd of writers, poets, litterateurs, artists and men of skill.⁷

The sultan took his meals in the company of the learned ; in spite of his great regard for his dignity as a monarch, he visited men of learning in their own houses.⁸ Baranī gives a long list of professors who lectured in various colleges and whose names were illustrious in those days ; no branch of knowledge known to the medieval world was unrepresented in the city of Dehli which, long before, had rightly earned the title of Qubbat-u'l-Islām.⁹ Philosophers, physicians and astronomers jostled jurists, mathematicians and theologians in the assemblies of the capital. Musicians of note and well-known comedians brightened the pleasure parties of princes and nobles.¹⁰ The beloved martyr prince Muḥammad's court was long remembered in the annals of the sultanate ; in his lifetime it was as famous in Fārs and *Khurāsān* as in Bengal

¹ E. & D., iii, p. 383. ² *Minhāj*, p. 166. ³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 59.

⁴ *Idem*, i, p. 64. ⁵ *Firīṣṭah*, i, p. 117. ⁶ Cf. *Khusraw* :

در پداوان مست برخیزد شهاب مہمراہ

بشنود از نغمہ مرغان دہلی گر نوا

Badāwān is probably a poetic form of Badā'ūn ; Muḥmarah is also read as Mutmarah, *Badā'ūnī*, i, p. 70. ⁷ *Firīṣṭah*, i, pp. 131, 132.

⁸ *Baranī*, pp. 46, 47 ; *Qirān-u's-sa'daīn*, p. 29. ⁹ *Idem*, pp. 110-112.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

and Hindustān. Amīr Khusraw and Hasan shed lustre on the prince's' entourage.¹ The profligate Kaiqubād did not discontinue patronage of learning ; but his example was not likely to encourage any earnestness of purpose.²

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The old sultan himself, like several Muslim rulers, wrote poetry of some merit ; his personal retinue contained men like the immortal Khusraw, Malik Sa'd-u'd-dīn, the logician ; Tāj-i-Khatīb, the historian and political writer.³ 'Alā-u'd-dīn was singularly fortunate in the brilliance of his reign : The need which drove him to his great economic policy has led some historians to accuse him of niggardliness ; yet he paid regular emoluments to the learned men of his empire, though on a reduced scale. Allowance should be made for the fact that a *tanka* bought much more in his reign than under normal conditions.⁴ No branch of religious or secular science was neglected at Dehli ; Baranī gives the names of forty-six professors in different subjects who excelled, according to the historian, any man in Turkistan, Persia, Turkey or Egypt. Foreigners of distinction in their own lands discovered that they had yet to learn a great deal at Dehli.⁵ Baranī devotes more than fourteen pages to distinguished scholars and artists ; the list contains pedagogues, poets, preachers, philosophers, physicians, astronomers and historians. ' Amīr Khusraw wrote some of his best works in this reign. Another famous poet was Amīr Hasan Sanjārī, who was styled 'the Sa'dī of India.' There were several other authors whose works have mostly perished. Of the historians

¹ Baranī, pp. 67-68.

² Kaiqubād patronized Khusraw and Sāwī, vide *Qurān-u's-sa'dain*, introduction ; Baranī, p. 195.

³ Baranī, pp. 198-200 ; *Firishṭah*, i, p. 156 ; *Tārīkh-i-Mubdrakshāhī*, p. 65.

⁴ Baranī, p. 365, Chapter VIII. Hasan and Khusraw praise the sultan for his liberality, e.g., *Kulliyāt-i-Ḥasan Sajzī*, p. 503 ; *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, 10 17

Amir Arsalān Kohi and Kabīr-u'd-dīn have been mentioned; the latter is reported to have written an official history of 'Alā-u'd-dīn's reign which has unfortunately not survived. Nor were music and such arts as calligraphy neglected; some artists are mentioned by name. The sultan himself took a pride in the brilliance of his court and the enlightenment of his people.¹ Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh could compose verse; he increased the scholarships and emoluments which had been curtailed in his father's time.²

Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq took a personal interest in the scholars of his reign and was generous in helping them.³ Nothing could, however, equal the extravagance of his son, Muḥammad, the stories of whose generosity sound almost fabulous; but they are based on authorities whose evidence cannot be questioned. Baranī records a list of some of his gifts, a justification for his remark that the sultan gave so much that the recipient was left wonderstruck. The fame of this generosity reached the four corners of the Muslim world and drew the talent of distant countries to Dehli.⁴ The sultan was himself a great scholar: he possessed an extensive knowledge of the Persian classics, Islamic history, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy. He was a learned physician who practised the experimental method.⁵ His regular companions were philosophers and scholars with whom he held constant discussions; there were few who could withstand his penetrating cross-examination.⁶ In addition to the sciences, the sultan had a great passion for poetry. He himself was a poet; he possessed undoubted powers of criticism and appreciation.⁷ The most famous

¹ Baranī, pp. 352-368; *Firishṭah*, i, pp. 213-217. Kabīr-u'd-dīn's book is mentioned as *Tārikh-i-jahāngiri* in *Tārikh-i-ganjīnah*, i, 395b.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 76; Baranī, p. 382; *Firishṭah*, i, p. 220.

³ Baranī, p. 435.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 460-462; *Firishṭah*, i, p. 236; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 32, 42, 43.

⁵ Baranī, pp. 463, 464; *Firishṭah*, i, p. 237; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 33, 37, 38, 42.

⁶ Baranī, pp. 464-465.

⁷ *Firishṭah*, i, p. 237.

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poet of his reign was Badr-i-Chāch whose odes are read even to-day. He is said to have composed a *Shāh-nāmāh*, which has now perished, containing thirty thousand couplets recounting the exploits of his patron.¹ The *Riyāḍ-u't-tāhirīn* records a characteristic anecdote. When the poet 'Ubaid Zākānī came to Dehlī and read the first couplet of his panegyric, the sultan cried, "No more! the treasury may not possess the money to reward thee for all thy couplets." He then ordered purses full of gold to be piled round the poet right up to the poet's head and all this money was given to him in reward.² Ibn Baṭṭūṭah records similar instances of the sultan's extravagant patronage of letters.³ Music was well represented at the court where singers and dancers graced the banquets.⁴ The difficulties towards the end of his reign, however, temporarily dimmed the glory of Dehlī.⁵

Fīrūz, who once again brought peace and prosperity to the remaining part of the empire, devoted himself to repairing old colleges and establishing new ones. He put these institutions on a firm basis by making new grants of land and renewing old endowments.⁶ He also granted land to scholars and teachers; aid was given to poor students.⁷ Fīrūz Shāh had some Sanskrit books translated into Persian; a work on physics was named *Kitāb-i-Fīrūzshāhī*.⁸ Fīrūz Shāh himself was a learned lawyer, a student of anatomy and a successful physician. He compiled a book on medicine called *Ṭibb-i-Fīrūzshāhī*.⁹ He was also interested in astronomy: he built an observatory, improved the instruments and drew up new

¹ *Badā'ūnī*, i, p. 241; *Mura't-i-jahān-numā* says the *Shāh-nāmāh* had 35,000 couplets (f. 440b). ² *Riyāḍ-u't-tāhirīn*, f. 600a.

³ I.B., ii, pp. 41-45.

⁴ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 32.

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 474.

⁶ *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, pp. 18, 19.

⁷ *Baranī*, p. 460; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter II. The *Sīrat-i-Fīrūzshāhī* (p. 148), says that nowhere else in the world was education supported so liberally.

⁸ *Sujān Rāi*, f. 160b; *Badā'ūnī*, i, p. 429 calls it *Dalā'il-i-Fīrūzshāhī*.

tables.¹ The restoration of peace revived confidence and there was a fresh stream of distinguished immigrants.² He was not so fortunate in poets, only a second rate poet Zāhir sang in praise of the new monarch.³ The new cultural centre at Jaunpūr, of Firūz Shāh's creation, kept the torch burning during the days of anarchy.⁴ It is difficult to assess the extent of the loss sustained by the culture of the sultanate as the result of Timūr's invasion; for the student of cultural history the centre of interest shifts from Dehlī to the provincial capitals until the establishment of the Lodī dynasty.⁵

* Sulṭān Buhlūl's energies were mainly directed towards the consolidation of his dominions, but he did not disdain the company of scholars.⁶ His son's reign, however, saw a renaissance of learning in Dehlī.⁷ Sikandar's example was followed by the nobles, and public taste was refined to such an extent that young men of birth thought of nothing except the pursuit of knowledge; a spiritual revival followed.⁸ The Hindus, who had generally held aloof from the new learning, now began to take an interest in it and very soon became apt pupils of the Muslims.⁹ A Hindu poet, whose *taḥalluṣ* was Brahman, was a professor in a Muslim college.¹⁰ * The sultan's zeal for knowledge expressed itself in the translation of Sanskrit books into Persian; the *granth*s of Vedic medicine were translated under the supervision of the learned minister, Miyān Buhwah, and named *Tibb-i-Sikandari*.¹¹ The court poet was Jamālī Dehlawī, who lived to write odes in praise

¹ *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhi*, pp. 291-293, 297, 312-314, 340.

² *Idem*, p. 286.

³ *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadi* (Bihāmīd *Khānī*), f. 413.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Jaunpūr*, f. 4b.

⁵ Timūr's invasion probably drove the learned to the provincial courts; provincial cultural centres now come into prominence.

⁶ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 8a; *Firishṭah*, i, p. 328.

⁷ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 23a.

⁸ *Idem*, ff. 23b-24a.

⁹ *Firishṭah*, i, p. 344.

¹⁰ *Badā'ūnī*, i, p. 323.

¹¹ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 24b.

of Bābur and Humāyūn ; his biography of saints, called the *Siyar-u'l-auliyā*, is well known and his tomb, near the Qutb at Dehlī, still draws visitors.¹ Sulṭān Sikandar was a great patron of music and took pains in collecting musicians at his court.² Nor were handicrafts ignored ; one master craftsman was Miyan Ṭāhā whose skill discomfited his admirers.³ Miyan Buhwah, himself a scholar, spent all the time he could spare from the business of state in the company of the learned. His house was the meeting-place of philosophers and scholars belonging to the various Muslim countries from which his generosity had drawn them.⁴ Ibrāhīm Lodī's reign was too troubled to foster culture.⁵

The interest which Bābur and Humāyūn took in learning is the special province of the historian The Sūrs. of the Mughul Empire. The Memoirs of Bābur reveal, as is universally acknowledged, a prince, cultured and refined in taste, a critic and lover of *belles lettres*, poetry and the fine arts.⁶ Humāyūn's name will ever live as the founder of the Mughul school of painting in India. Even his misfortunes did not prevent him from going to Tabriz to meet the master painters and poets of that celebrated city.⁷ Sher Shāh, who enjoyed authority for so short a time, considered it necessary to pass a part of his crowded life with men of learning.⁸ Islām Shāh Sūr provided pavilions near his own residence which were beautifully furnished ; in these met the dilettanti of the age like Mīr Sayyid Manjhan, Shāh Muḥammad, Ḥayātī, Ṣaifī and Sūr Dās who recited poetry or debated literary and philosophic questions. Sometimes the sultan would appear and join them in their discussions ; he pleaded that they should not

¹ *Bada'ūnī*, i, pp. 325-326. *Bada'ūnī* calls it *Siyar-u'l-'arīfīn*.

² *Dā'ūdī*, f. 24.

³ *Idem*, f. 24b. *Khusraw* speaks highly of Indian handicrafts, e.g., *Qirān-u's-sa'dam*, p. 34.

⁴ *Mushṭaqī*, f. 32b.

⁵ *Vide* Chapter I.

⁶ *Memoirs of Bābur*, preface, pp. vii, viii.

⁷ *Akbar-nāmah*, i, pp. 219-221.

⁸ *Sarwānī*, f. 69a.

rise to greet him when he entered.¹ Makhdūm-u'l-mulk Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah and the sultan were once passing through a narrow lane when they saw an enraged elephant coming towards them. The divine wished to proceed but the sultan would not let him. The scholar said, "O emperor ! let me step forward, for if thou art killed, the entire realm will fall into disorder." The sultan replied, "Master, thou dost not realize that there are nine lacs of Afghāns to replace me ; but if thou perisheth, another like thee may not be born in India for ages."² This incident well illustrates the sultan's respect for learning. A new trend was the interest taken by Muslim writers in Hindī poetry. Shaikh Rizq-u'llah Mushtāqī wrote poetry not only in Persian but also in Hindī ; his *nom de guerre* for the latter was Rājan.³ Sultān 'Adlī will live in history as a master musician, who counted among his disciples men like Bāz Bahādur of Mālwah and the immortal Miyān Tān Sen.⁴

The sultans did not patronize learning simply to satisfy their vanity. It was realized that no General level. polity could endure without philosophy and wisdom.⁵ The influence of the learned kept the people virtuous and law-abiding, and made them useful members of society.⁶ But men of learning were not to be subservient to kings and rulers, they were left free to make their contribution to human welfare.⁷ The success of the Dehlī sultans in education can be easily gauged from the writings of contemporary authors and travellers. Amīr Khusraw's introduction to his *Tuhfat-u's-ṣiḡhar* paints a picture of cultured assemblies of refined taste and literary acumen. In the introduction to his other book, *Wast-u'l-hayāt*, he very picturesquely says that 'every stone in Dehlī concealed a gem of literary brilliance'. The same story is repeated in different words

¹ *Afsānah-i-shāhān*, f. 150b.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Risālah-i-'Abd-u'l-Haqq Dehlawī*, ff. 84a, b.

⁴ *Badā'ūnī*, i, p. 434.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh*, pp. 9-10.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 10.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 11.

in other works.¹ In Persian, Turkish and Arabic the masters of India could easily hold their own against the native savants of those countries ; foreign Muslims were surprised how well and eloquently their languages were spoken in India.² The sultanate of Dehlī rivalled the best contemporary centres of knowledge in all sciences.³ Nor can we be surprised at this eminence when we read as sober history that the capital alone possessed a thousand colleges.⁴ Besides, the mosques and *khānqāhs* in Dehlī and its vicinity are said to have numbered two thousand. Almost every mosque and *khānqāh* had a school attached to it ; hence the number of educational institutions in the city and province of Dehlī must have been large.⁵ Thousands of schoolmasters were employed by the state.⁶ Medieval figures must be treated with great caution ; yet the statements reveal a high standard of educational facilities in the sultanate. Probably the remote regions did not possess so many institutions ; yet they could not have been neglected.

As regards the tradition of learning among the Hindus, Hindu culture. *Khushraw* speaks with enthusiasm of their knowledge of science, mathematics and yoga.⁷ Indeed Hindu genius, sometimes under the patronage of Muslim rulers, sometimes quite independently, blossomed forth in a renaissance of literary and religious activity.⁸ Among names of Hindī writers of renown one comes across many Muslims like Mas'ūd, Quṭb 'Alī, Akram Faiḍī and Mullā Dā'ūd.⁹ *Khushraw* has left some Hindī poetry which

¹ *Ghurraṭ-u'l-kamāl* (introduction) : *Nuh Sipīhr* (*Sipīhr-i-nuhum*).

² *Ghurraṭ-u'l-kamāl* (introduction).

³ *Nuh Sipīhr* (*Sipīhr-i-nuhum*) ; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 11.

⁴ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 24 ; E. & D., iii, p. 576 ; S. A., p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 176.

⁷ *Nuh Sipīhr* (*Sipīhr-i-nuhum*).

⁸ *Hindī Literature* (Keay) ; *Local Self-government in Ancient India*, pp. 14-18 ; *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 10-14 ; *Aspects of Bengal Society*, pp. 98-100. The *Masālik-u'l-abṣār* (p. 32) speaks of the official patronage of Hindī poetry.

⁹ *Hindī Literature*, pp. 12, 18.

is regarded with respect even to-day.¹ Of greater merit as a Hindī poet was Malik Muḥammad Jaisī whose *Padmāvat* and *Akhrāwat* rank among the classics of the world owing to their vigour, beauty and imagery.² Muḥammad Shāh was an accomplished Hindī poet at Islām Shāh's court; when Kāmran suggested that he could gain international reputation if he wrote in Persian, he side-tracked the issue by a joke.³ Of deeper influence was Hindu culture in the realm of music. Khusraw and Ḥasan were both great musicians; their disciples were found in other Indian courts.⁴ Through these men a great tradition of the appreciation and knowledge of Indian music came to be established, which continues to this day.⁵

It is widely believed that the art of painting did not exist at the court of the sultans of Dehlī: this is a misconception. We read of mural paintings from the very beginning.⁶ The Calcutta Art Gallery possesses a picture of a music party at the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq painted by Shāhpūr of Khurāsān in 1534; the artist describes his work as 'a copy.' A modern critic discovers in the picture "the simple delight in the beauty of Nature, and the whole-hearted desire to be one with it, which breathe in the paintings of Ajanta and the sculpture of Borobudur."⁷ In fact Shāhpūr must have caught this spirit from the original, which, one may assume with confidence, was painted at Dehlī. Fīūrz Shāh mentions that he stopped the practice of painting the

¹ *Khusraw ki Hindi Kavita*

² *Hindi Literature*, pp. 31-33.

³ *Afsānah-i-shāhān*, ff. 146a,b.

⁴ Khusraw himself says in *Ghurraṭ-u'l-kamāl* :

نظم را کردم سه دفتر و در بتکرار آمد
علم موسیقی سه دیگر بود از باور بود

⁵ *Masālik-u'l-abṣār* (p. 32) mentions large numbers of musicians maintained by the court.

⁶ *Tāj*, f. 111a; *Dīvalyānī Khudr Khān*, pp. 153, 154.

⁷ Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 190, 191. (The 1908 edition reproduces this picture in colours.)

likenesses of animate objects on the walls of the palaces. He also states that pictures were painted, embroidered or engraved on the robes of honour bestowed by former sultans, on harness, on tents and curtains, on utensils, and on furniture.¹ 'Afif mentions the paintings on the walls as well as brass, copper, silver and gold images; though possibly these are the designs referred to by the sultan himself as engraved on metal-ware.² The royal standards and banners also had images on them.³ The tradition of painting the walls of palaces dates back at least to the House of Ghaznah.⁴ When Akbar employed painters to adorn the walls of his palace at Fathpūr Sikrī, he was only awakening a sleeping tradition.

Closely allied to Art was Architecture. The sultans were great builders; the spirit of their rule has been preserved in the architectural achievements. Any detailed description or criticism of these buildings would be mostly a repetition of what that great archæologist and critic, Fergusson, has recorded; later writers have brought the information up to date. It is, however, necessary to say a few words about the Public Works Department in this age. (Baranī applauds its efficiency in the time of 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī when it employed seventy thousand men on the building side alone.)⁵ "These men," the same authority affirms, "could build a palace in two or three days." The chief engineer, styled *mīr-i-imārat* under Firūz Shāh, was an important officer. Each activity of the department was separately organized; for instance, there were distinctive officers over the stone-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths.⁶ Dehlī with its thousand colleges, seventy hospitals, its extensive bazaars, public baths and palaces was

¹ *Futūḥāt i-Firūzshāhī*, ff. 302b-303a.

² 'Afif, pp. 290, 374.

³ *Idem*, p. 384.

⁴ *Baihaqī*, p. 135.

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 341. This sultan was a great builder, *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ*, pp. 25-31. His reign has given us the 'Alā'ī Darwāzah, a most exquisite monument

⁶ 'Afif, pp. 330-333.

the noblest city in the world of Islam under Muḥammad bin Tughluq.¹ *Khusraw* sings of beautiful palaces at Kilokhri, of edifices gleaming like jewels in the bright sunshine of India.² Ibn Baṭṭūṭah bears striking testimony by recording that the palace in Tughluqābād was covered with gilded tiles, so that when the sun rose, they glittered brightly and flashed with such a dazzling light that the eye could not rest on them.³ The city was guarded by a massive wall—eleven cubits in width—strengthened by numerous towers.⁴ On three sides of the city—the fourth was flanked by the river—extended gardens and orchards for twelve miles to supply the populace with fruits as well as to take the sting out of the hot summer winds.⁵ The people, drawn by the cooler air, thronged them on summer afternoons when, in the words of the immortal *Khusraw*, the melodies of the 'ūd and the *rubāb* intoxicated the trees and made the fountains drowsy.⁶ *Firūz* extended the gardens and replanted those which were ruined during the exodus from the capital.⁷ Within this emerald ring lay that jewel of glittering brilliance, the metropolis of a great empire. It hardly sounds like an exaggeration when *Khusraw* calls the city 'a twin sister of the blessed heaven, a very paradise on the earth.'⁸ Dehlī was the largest city in the Muslim world, combining strength with beauty, elegance with comfort.⁹ It covered a space of forty miles in circumference; the houses were built of stone or brick; the buildings were mostly two stories high, and their floors were paved with a marble-like white stone.¹⁰ The Public Works

¹ S. A., pp. 27-30; *Masālik-u'l-absār*, p. 24.

² *Qirān-u's-sa'dain*, pp. 54-56; *Ghurāt u'l-kamā*, f. 245b.

³ I B., ii, p. 34.

⁴ *Idem*, ii, p. 17.

⁵ S. A., p. 29; *Qirān-u's-sa'dain*, p. 33; *Masālik-u'l-absār*, p. 24.

⁶ *Tuhfat-u's-sighar*, (I O. Ethé, 1187) f. 51b.

⁷ *Vide* Chapter VI. *Firūz* repaired a large number of old buildings and was himself a great builder; *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhi*, pp. 14-18; *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhi*, pp. 154-159, 180-182, 210.

⁸ *Tuhfat-u's-sighar*, f. 51b.

⁹ I B., ii, p. 16.

¹⁰ E & D., iii, p. 573.

Department was autonomous but under the general direction and supervision of the *wazir*.

The patronage of colleges and schools was in the hands of the *ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr*, but he had no influence over the poets and musicians. Such men, if they happened to be attached to the court, were directly under the control of the royal household. A large number of artists were employed in the establishments of the nobles and provincial governors. The large number of *ṣūfis* and *faqīrs* under the patronage of the state were under a *shaiikh-u'l-Islām*.¹ In certain Muslim states he was responsible for the entire activities of the department of religious affairs; but in the sultanate of Dehli he enjoyed no such authority.² Probably it was on his recommendation that the state gave stipends to deserving *ṣūfis* and *faqīrs*. Some *shaiikhs* showed great independence and were not afraid of criticising the sultans; an outstanding example is the saint Nizām-u'd-dīn whose sturdy independence is suspected by some modern writers who wrongly accuse him of participation in political intrigue.³ *Shaiikh* Qutb-u'd-dīn openly upbraided Firūz Shāh for drinking.⁴ This monarch held the *shaiikh-u'l-Islām* in great respect; he was excused from attending the court and whenever he paid a visit to the sultan he was received with great humility.⁵ The *shaiikh-u'l-Islām* enjoyed the same salary as the chief *ṣadr* under Muḥammad bin Tughluq, a stipend of sixty thousand *tankahs*.⁶ Some sultans bestowed large endowments for the upkeep of hospices and of the

¹ *Minhāj*, pp. 220, 226; *Fawā'id-ul-fawā'id*, p. 67; S. A. calls him *shaiikh-u'ṣh-shuyūkh*, which is a better description of the office; p. 68; *Masālik-u'l-abyār*, pp. 32, 33.

² E.g., *Tuzūkāt-i-Timūrī*, pp. 176-178; *Sulūk-u'l-mulūk*, ff. 20b-22a.

³ *Firīshṭah*, i, p. 212 calls the saint *shaiikh-u'l-Islām*; for the charge of intrigue, vide C. H. I., iii, p. 128.

⁴ *Afif*, p. 79. Firūz Shāh held the *faqīrs* in great respect; *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 160.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 286, 287.

⁶ E. & D., iii, pp. 578, 579; S. A., p. 72.

tombs of saints and kings; probably the administration of these institutions ultimately rested in the hands of the *shaiikh-u'l-Islām*, because, in many cases, *darwishes* were included among the beneficiaries.¹ The *shaiikh-u'l-Islām* was under the *ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr*.²

Guided by the principles of their Faith, which lays great stress on charity, the sultans of Dehlī
 Poor relief spent large sums of money on the poor and the needy. In addition to the income derived from *zakāt* which was legally ear-marked for charitable purposes, large sums were given away from other sources.³ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak was famous for his generosity to the poor.⁴ Īltutmish and his descendants did not neglect the poor; indeed Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd's name has passed from history into fable.⁵ There is hardly a sultan whose generosity has not been praised; it will be superfluous to mention them individually. Muḥammad bin Tughluq maintained a large number of the poor and prohibited begging.⁶ Firūz instituted a *dīwān-i-khairāt* to give financial aid to men who wanted to marry their daughters but did not possess the necessary means.⁷ He also brought up the children of public servants who died without making ample provision for their families.⁸ Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, probably in accordance with an older custom, distributed cooked and raw food to the poor in his dominions. In winter blankets and clothes were given away. The raw foodstuffs must have been meant for his Hindu subjects who did not eat anything cooked by a Muslim.⁹ Humāyūn sat in public audience to bestow alms personally; such a session was announced to the public by beat of drum.¹⁰ Sher Shāh's alms amounted to five hundred tolas of gold every day;

¹ E.g., *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*, f. 303a.

² I. B., ii, p. 91.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārakshāh*, p. 17.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 35. ⁵ *Sujān Rāi*, pp. 195, 196. ⁶ *Masālik-u'l-absār*, p. 39.

⁷ *Afif*, pp. 349-351.

⁸ *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 153.

⁹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i, p. 336.

¹⁰ *Akbar-nāmah*, i, p. 358.

he ran a free kitchen as well.¹ Islām Shāh increased the number of these kitchens.² The example of their royal masters was followed by the nobles. Baranī speaks warmly of nobles vying with one another in acts of generosity under Balban.³ Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq had earned a great reputation for charity during his governorship.⁴ Khawāṣ Khān, a trusted noble of Sher Shāh, is probably pre-eminent in this respect. Several thousand men and women lived in houses and tents put up by him; he himself served them at their meals. The Hindus received uncooked food-stuffs.⁵ Indeed Khawāṣ Khān's charity almost rivalled the generosity of the famous Maḥmūd Gāwān, who, the virtual ruler of a kingdom himself, spent all his wealth on the poor and himself ate the coarse food of a peasant and slept on the ground with a straw mat for his bed.⁶ The *khānqāhs*, also, were centres of poor relief, for they maintained free kitchens and gave shelter to the wayfarer and the needy. Of the sums allotted to them by the state or given by private individuals, large amounts were spent on education, social service and poor relief.⁷ So widespread was this charity and so generous the alms that they were partially responsible for the existence of a class of professional beggars. In times of famine, royal granaries were opened and grain was sold at cheap rates. Large quantities were distributed free to the starving population.⁸ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentions the organization of a department which kept a list of needy men and women and provided them with rations. Men of learning and piety were appointed as supervisors to ensure impartiality.⁹ Muḥammad bin Tughluq expanded irrigation facilities and provided the cultivators with money and implements in famine-stricken areas.¹⁰ Firūz Shāh instructed

¹ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 77.

² *Idem.* f. 103a.

³ *Baranī*, pp. 113-120; specially, pp. 119, 120.

⁴ *Firīshṭah*, i, p. 232. ⁵ *Dā'ūdī*, p. 102a; *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī*, f. 169.

⁶ *Firīshṭah*, i, pp. 696, 697. ⁷ *E.g.*, *idem.* i, p. 161; *Muṣṣṭāqī*, ff. 48a, b.

⁸ *Futūwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 91b; *ʿIṣāmī*, pp. 211, 212. ⁹ *I. B.*, ii, p. 74.

¹⁰ *I. B.*, ii, p. 55.

his *kotwāl* to bring the unemployed to his presence. With the help of the *muḥallahdārs*—the men responsible for the various quarters—the *kotwāl* drew up a list of such men; they were produced before the sultan who found some employment for them.¹ In doing this he was following the example of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq who held the view that crime was the result of want and, therefore, tried to find some profession or trade for the poor; he gave grants of land and money to enable them to set up as cultivators. This sultan made efforts to wipe out beggary from his dominions by inducing the beggars to take up some useful pursuit.²

The organization of medical help was not neglected. It has already been mentioned that the city of Dehli possessed seventy hospitals under Muḥammad bin Tughluq.³ Most of these must have dated back to previous reigns. Firūz Shāh added to their number.⁴ 'Afif gives us some insight into the working of a Dehli hospital of those days. The staff consisted of physicians as well as surgeons; attendants served the sick and nursed them; medicines, food and drink were provided. Eye specialists formed part of the staff.⁵ Sher Shāh, whose reforms were mostly inspired by his reading of history and were often the revival of older traditions, had a physician resident in every *sarāi*, which indicates a widespread system of medical help.⁶

¹ 'Afif, pp. 334-336.

² Baranī, p. 436.

³ S. A., p. 29; E. & D., iii, p. 576; *Masālik-u'l-absār*, p. 24.

⁴ *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhi*, p. 10.

⁵ 'Afif, pp. 355, 356.

⁶ *Afānah-i-shāhān*, p. 126a.

CHAPTER X

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT*

MUSLIM jurists classify governorships into two broad divisions : *imārat-r-‘āmmah* or *tafwīd* and Provinces. *imārat-i-ḫāṣṣah*. The former carries limited and the latter unlimited authority.¹ If unlimited governorship has been acquired by force as the result of successful rebellion, it is called *imārat-i-istilā*. The *amīr*, as the jurists call the governor, exercised, if his powers were unlimited, all the authority of a semi-independent monarch within his dominions. He organized and posted the army ; he appointed the judicial officers, raised the taxes, managed the finances and enforced the *shar‘* ; he was the protector and defender of the Faith. The governor with limited powers was entrusted only with the supervision of the troops, the punishment of criminals and rebels, and home defence. He was not allowed to intervene in the administration of justice or the levy of taxes. Nor was he given the right to lead prayers or act as the spiritual head of the people. The *qāḍīs* and the revenue officials were appointed by the sovereign.¹ The sultanate of Dehlī possessed governors of all three types in the course of its history. Lakhnautī, because of its inaccessibility and distance, was for a long time in the hands of an almost independent governor, and then became the capital of independent Bengal. Balban after suppressing Tughril’s rebellion could have brought the province under direct control, but he appointed his son Bughrā Khān the new governor with the authority of a

¹ J. Z., pp. 109-111 ; *Sulūk-u’l-mulūk*, f. 18b ; V. K., pp. 227, 274, 285 ; *Aḥkām-u’l-sultāniyah*, pp. 28-32.

semi-independent monarch.¹ 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī, in spite of his strength, contented himself with obtaining a recognition of suzerainty and a considerable tribute from Laddar Deva of Warangal. This was the result of policy; when the sultan sent Malik Kāfūr to the Deccan, he instructed him not to push matters to extremes.² It is true that there is considerable legal difference between a Muslim governor with unlimited powers and a non-Muslim tributary, yet their political status is identical. When Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd of the Qarāwīnah dynasty gave Khwājah Jahān the supreme power over the Sharqī provinces, the sultan only acquiesced in what he could not prevent; this was an illustration of an involuntary appointment.³ When 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī was satisfied with formal recognition of his suzerainty by Kaikā'ūs of Bengal, in appointing whom he had had no voice, he was only accepting the legal fiction of governorship by usurpation.⁴ The relations between the central government and the provinces did not depend so much on legal definitions as on political reality; nevertheless legal and political thinkers had provided patterns of behaviour which could be applied to particular needs. The grant of extraordinary power was the recognition of an exceptional situation involving peculiar difficulties or it was an attempt to save the legal vestige of authority. Such grants were naturally more frequently made by weak or preoccupied sultans, and they often paved the way to the establishment of independent provincial dynasties. Numerous governorships of this nature arose in the troubled days of the later Tughluqids, and facilitated the growth of minor kingdoms on the ruins of the empire. It would, however, be wrong to think that the bestowal of unlimited power always implied weakness on the part of the central

¹ *Baranī*, p. 96. Balban's advice to Bughrā Khān implies this. It is true that *Baranī* says that Balban himself appointed Bughrā Khān's first officials but this was obviously an act of paternal solicitude, (p. 92).

² *Baranī*, pp. 327, 330.

³ *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, p. 156.

⁴ C. H. I., iii, p. 261.

government*; sometimes it was a useful device to keep a distant possession under control by entrusting it to a good and reliable administrator. When there was anarchy at the centre, it mattered little whether a governor possessed limited or unlimited powers if he had the will and the resources to rebel; it needed great vigilance and effort to combat the centrifugal tendencies. The internal administration of a province was everywhere the same in structure, except, of course, in Hindu tributary states which mostly maintained their traditional institutions. The difference between the provincial governments did not lie in their organization but in the sources of control and supervision. There can be little doubt that there was a natural desire on the part of the sultans to increase their power even in the outlying provinces; in spite of the setbacks received owing to the weakness of the successors of İltutmish and to dynastic revolutions, centralization steadily increased until it reached its climax in the earlier part of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign.¹ This monarch, however, was a stranger to the saving grace of moderation; his eccentric severity demolished the edifice his own ability and the foresight of his predecessors had built.² Firuz could stem the ebbing tide only for a while; power was swept away through the incapacity of his successors and because of Timur's invasion, and the Lodis had to start afresh. The inexperienced and impatient Ibrahim lost his throne in the endeavour to gain respect for his ideal of a centralized monarchy; even the capable Sher Shah and the impetuous Islam did not reach the level attained by Muhammad bin Tughluq, though they inspired widespread and wholesome respect for the central government. The tribal principle introduced by the Lodis of reliance upon hereditary chiefs and heads of clans for the maintenance of peace in provincial areas survived even under the Surs whose civil administration was mostly centralized.³ Sher Shah and Islam Shah curbed Afghan

¹ *Barani*, pp. 468-470.

* ¹ *Idem*, p. 471.

³ *E.g.*, the *Niyazis* in the Panjab, C. H. I., iv, pp. 59, 60.

tribalism by maintaining large standing armies and supervising the relations between the soldiers and their commanders.¹

The chronicles employ various terms for a governor. A broad survey leaves the impression that a *wālī* is higher than a *muqṭi'* in status: for whereas the latter appellation is used for any governor, the former is seldom applied to a minor provincial chief.² In all probability the term *wālī* was reserved for governors with extraordinary powers. The number of such governors was small; the major part of the sultanate was administered by governors with limited authority. Their legal powers have already been defined; in the sultanate practice agreed with theory. The jurists had allowed them to help the revenue authorities in collecting the taxes though they were not to interfere with the working of the revenue machinery.³ In view of the special circumstances in India, greater authority was exercised by the governors in levying revenue. The Ghaznavids soon realized that their Indian dominions required a military governor to make an impression on the recalcitrant Hindu chiefs; the ordinary administration of revenue was left in the hands of the old civil head, and Aḥmad Niyāltigīn was given the military governor-

¹ Vide Chapter VII.

² It is significant that Ḥasan Nizāmī generally uses *ayālat* or *mlāyāt dārī* for governorship; in the earlier days probably the governors had to be given greater powers. *Tāj. e.g.*, ff. 48b, 124b. Baranī uses *wālī* for the governors of Lakhnauī, *e.g.*, for Tughlūq, p. 82; for any governor, p. 82 for governors, p. 95, etc.

Moreland thinks that "the terms were at least, practically, synonymous. The possibility is not excluded that there were minor differences in position, for instance, in regard to the accounts procedure of the Revenue Ministry..." (*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 222). The difficulty arises from lack of precise information. One reason seems to be that the word *muqṭi'* was being replaced by *amir* even in the days of Muḥammad bin Tughlūq. The Lodīs introduced *shiqqdār-i-shiqqdārān*.

³ This was a corollary to the right to punish rebels; for withholding revenue or tribute was an act of rebellion.

ship.¹ Ḥasan Nizāmī in speaking of the appointment of a governor says that 'a famous and exalted servant was chosen so that he might look after the soldiers, servants, warriors and clerks and save them from the treachery of the unbelievers, and the designs of the polytheists; ...he should take pains to fulfil the expectations of the people; he should exercise the greatest circumspection in military and revenue matters; and he should maintain the traditions of benevolence and charity so as to leave a name for eternity'.²

The *Tāj-u'l-ma'āthir* has preserved the instructions given to another *wālī* by Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak which can be summarized as follows:—

- (i) to protect and enforce the laws, customs and regulations;
- (ii) to look after the 'ulamā, the warriors and civil officials;
- (iii) to reconcile the people by reducing their dues and introducing measures of prosperity;
- (iv) to increase the produce by extending cultivation;
- (v) to maintain justice and protect the weak from the rapacity and tyranny of the strong;
- (vi) to see that the decisions of the courts were enforced;
- (vii) to desist from capital punishment;
- (viii) to guard the highways, encourage trade and protect traders.³

These two passages very well show what was expected of a provincial governor when the Sultanate was young; even in those days he was the head only of the military and revenue departments. He was not given authority over religious and judicial affairs, nor is there mention of any control over the news-agency. These departments were kept under the supervision of the centre.⁴ In broad outline

¹ *Bahāqī*, pp. 325-327. The term used is *sālār*.

² *Tāj*, f. 191b. The translation of this passage is free and leaves out much of the writer's rhetoric, but the sense has been scrupulously preserved. ³ *Idem*, ff. 144b-148b. ⁴ Compare *Tāj*, ff. 192b-193a.

the governor's sphere of authority remained the same in later times with an increase of central control owing to better communications and greater tranquillity. For instance, when Fath Khān was appointed the governor of Sind by Fīrūz Shāh, his instructions were :

- (i) to act as the chief executive officer ;
- (ii) to protect the people and guard their interests ;
- (iii) to help the learned and the holy ;
- (iv) to maintain the army in a happy and contented condition ;
- (v) to supervise the work of the *diwān-i-wizārat* ;
- (vi) to protect the peasants from undue exactions and tyranny ;
- (vii) to supervise the work of public officers.¹

Fīrūz Shāh also instructed his governors and officers to encourage trade and to foster prosperity.²

The military power of the governors was limited by the presence of provincial 'ārīds, who were responsible for the recruitment and supervision of the army. They were under the 'ārīd-i-mumālīk and had to submit regular reports to headquarters.³ 'Alā-u'd-dīn further tightened the reins by discouraging assignments and introducing *dāgh* and *huliyah*. The system of paying soldiers in cash increased the hold of the state on the army.⁴ The Muslim rulers had inherited a large number of recalcitrant chiefs whose authority was embedded in hereditary tradition.⁵ Their power was not easy to break; the Muslims at first lacked the men to deal with them. Only gradually could the sultans reduce these chiefs to peaceful submission and reconcile them to the sultanate. In the earlier days the realization of tribute and revenue was a veiled or an open military affair ; hence the revenue authorities had to work in close co-operation with

¹ *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter I.

² *Idem*, Letter CXXI.

³ & ⁴ *Vide* Chapter VII.

⁵ *Agrarian System of the Hindus*, pp. 53, 54 ; *Moreland*, pp. 25, 26.

the military governor.¹ Gradually as the native chiefs were reconciled or reduced, the civil officers gained in power and authority. Baranī's description shows that by the time of 'Alā-u'd-dīn, the civil authorities possessed sufficient strength to enforce the sultan's drastic reforms.² The revenue officials, though under the immediate control of the governor, were supervised by the ministry of finance at the centre which received and examined regular and detailed statements regarding income and expenditure in every province.³ If a governor failed to satisfy the *wazīr's* officers he was harshly treated and handed over to torture till he restored the misappropriated amount.⁴ Muḥammad bin Tughluq, with characteristic thoroughness, established a *diwān-i-mustakhrij* for this purpose.⁵ Even the mild Firūz Shāh's *wazīr* showed the utmost strictness in keeping the governors on the path of rectitude in financial affairs.⁶ The governors were "officers posted to their charges by the king, and transferred, removed or punished at his pleasure, administering their charges under his orders, and subjected to the strict financial control of the Revenue Ministry."⁷ Moreland rightly argues that such officers could in no sense be feudal; they were bureaucrats pure and simple.

The staff for supervising the collection of revenue and auditing the accounts with its local *nāzīrs* *Ṣāhib-i-diwān* and *waqūfs*, in so far as the central government is concerned, has already been discussed.⁸ In every province there was a *ṣāhib-i-diwān*, conveniently called *khwājā* who was appointed by the sultan on the recommendation of the *wazīr*.⁹ He was generally an expert accountant; his duty was to keep the account books and

¹ Moreland, pp. 25, 26.

² Baranī, pp. 288, 289.

³ Vide Chapter VI.

⁴ Baranī, e.g., pp. 431, 556.

⁵ I. B., ii, p. 54.

⁶ Afīf, p. 397; D. A., p. 33 mentions *mustakhrij* and defines it.

⁷ Moreland, p. 221.

⁸ Vide Chapter VI.

⁹ Baranī, p. 38; Dā'udī, ff. 19a-20.

submit detailed statements to headquarters.¹ It was on the basis of these sheets that the *wazīr's* department settled the account with the *muqṭi'*. Officially the *Khwājah* was subordinate to the governor, but in actual practice, owing to his direct appointment by the monarch and his contact with the *wazīr*, he was a power to reckon with, and his presence provided a check on the governor's authority. When Mas'ūd of Ghaznah appointed Aḥmad Niyāltigīn to the governorship of Lāhor, the royal *wazīr*, Aḥmad Ḥasan, impressed upon the new governor that Qāḍi-i-Shīrāz, the *ṣāhib-i-diwān*, was his subordinate; yet it was on the reports of this subordinate that measures were taken to depose the governor.² Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentions a *wālī-u'l-kharāj* together with an *amīr* in a province; there can be little doubt that the former is the *khwājah* and the latter the governor.³ The fact that the traveller uses the word *wālī* for the revenue officer shows that he possessed high authority. Sometimes the governor had a deputy who was appointed by the sultan.⁴

Were the provinces sub-divided into *shiqqs*? Moreland writes: "My impression is that during the fourteenth century the word *shiqq* was coming into use as a synonym for the terms which I have rendered 'province'."⁵ It seems, however, more probable that with the suppression of the authority of the Hindu chieftains and the growth of direct administration, the original provinces proved too extensive, and some of them at least were split into smaller administrative areas. For instance, Muḥammad bin Tughluq divided the viceroyalty of the Deccan into four *shiqqs*.⁶ Again, in speaking of the same sultan's suppression of the rebellion in the province of the Doāb, Baranī says that 'the *shiqqdārs* and the *faujdārs*' were ordered to plunder and seize the rebels.⁷

¹ The term *ṣāhib-i-diwān* implies book-keeping; *ṣāhib* = master; *diwān* = book, or even, an office. In large provinces he was sometimes styled *wazīr*, (Baranī, p. 502).

² *Bahāqī*, pp. 496-498.

³ I. B., II, p. 90.

⁴ Baranī, p. 38; V. K., p. 215; *Utbi*, p. 255.

⁵ Moreland, p. 25.

⁶ Baranī, p. 501; *Firishtah*, I, p. 250.

⁷ Baranī, p. 479.

It is obvious that there were several *shiqqdārs* in the province, and, if they were administrative officials at all, there must have been several *shiqqs*. The Doāb, like the province of Dehli, was directly under the ministry; hence the *shiqqdārs* were probably the highest executive officers who could be ordered to deal with the insurrection. Baranī, in the history of the same reign, has used the word *shiqq* for an administrative unit. Besides, the larger *wilāyats* had been divided into smaller units called *ṭarfs* since the days of Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak.¹ The old and new divisions of provinces emerge as *shiqqs* during the fourteenth century. The *shiqq* seems to have disappeared during the anarchy following that sultan's death. The word *shiqq* appears on a few coins struck at Bakkar under Sher Shāh and his son; it is rather curious that the term should precede the name of a mint town. If it is not an engraver's mistake, probably the *shiqq* survived the anarchy in distant Sind.² When Buhlūl Lodī conquered the *parganahs* of Kampīl, Patiālī, Shamsābād, Sakīr, Koil, Marahrā and Jalālī from Sulṭān Husain Sharqī, he appointed a *shiqqdār* to each of these.³ Did the *shiqq* come to be identified with the *parganaḥ*, or, as is more likely, did the *shiqqdār* sink to the level of the *parganaḥ* officer? It seems that the institution of the *shiqq* was never universal and only the unwieldy provinces were divided into these units. In the course of time, the smaller provinces and the *shiqqs* of larger *wilāyats* and provinces emerged as *sarkārs*; the *shiqqdār* being the administrator of a part of a province came to be the head of a *parganaḥ* under the new order. The *wālī* and the *muqṭī* disappeared naturally, for the rulers of the new kingdoms which rose on the ruins of the sultanate of Dehli had, in fact, themselves

¹ *Idem*, p. 587; also *Tāj*, ff. 192b, 254; *Inshā-i-Mahrū* (Letter II) uses the term *ṭarf*. I.B., ii, p. 90 uses the term *hazār* under an *amīr* assisted by a *wālī-u'l-kharāj*. This unit does not seem to correspond to *shiqq* and seems to be a small province under a governor assisted by a *ṣāhib-i-dīvān*.

² N. Wright, p. 273.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i. p. 310.

been governors of provinces. Jaunpūr, Mālwah, Deccan and Gujrāt had all started as provinces. Khidr Khān, the first Sayyid ruler of Dehlī, did not assume the royal title and was legally a governor¹ Important provinces reappeared as the result of a new growth of power at the centre. When Buhlūl Lodī conquered the Sharqī Kingdom, he put his son Bārbek on the throne of Jaunpūr as his viceroy.² The Panjāb was in the hands of strong governors under the Lodīs as well as the Sūrs.³ Mālwah, so long as it owned Sūr supremacy, remained a province.⁴ Thus the larger governorships again appeared, and, finally, under Akbar's reorganization, emerged as *shūbahs*.⁵

✓ The next smaller unit after the *shiqq* or the *sarkār* was the *parganaḥ* which has rightly been identified by Moreland with the *qaṣbah* in its older meaning of an aggregate of villages.⁶ The next division was the ultimate unit, the village.⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentions a *ṣadī*, which he defines in these words, "These people give the name of *ṣadī* to the collection of a hundred villages." He names the *ṣadī* of Hindpat, which can easily be recognized as the *parganaḥ* of Indrapat in the suburbs of Dehlī.⁸ The grouping of villages into hundreds even in the directly administered province of Dehlī involves too theoretical an outlook on administration to fit in with the practical nature of the Sultanate administration. Nor is the *ṣadī*

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, p. 181, where he is styled only as *rāyāt-i-ā'īlā*.

² C. H. I., iii, p. 234. Bārbek was given the right to coin money and use the royal title.

³ *Idem*, iii, pp. 240, 241; iv, p. 59.

⁴ *Idem*, iii, p. 370.

⁵ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Book iii, I.

⁶ Moreland, pp. 18, 19. The Sarban inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, January, 1889, vol. i, pp. 93-95) use the word *pratigana* for *parganaḥ*. The inscription is in Sanskrit.

⁷ D. A., p. 36. gives interesting definitions of certain terms : *qariyah* was used for a village, *qisbāh* was an unfortified town smaller than a city or *shahr*; *khatīṭh* was a fortified *qisbāh*; *nāḥiyat* was used for the suburbs of a city; a village or a town used as a halting station was called a *marḥalah*.

⁸ I. B., ii, p. 78.

mentioned by any other contemporary authority. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, however, finds strange confirmation in the *Shukranīti* which mentions units of a hundred villages and defines a village as an area covering just a little over two square miles.¹ The decimal aggregation of villages is also mentioned in the *Viśhnū-smṛiti* as well as in *Manū*, in both of which the unit of a hundred villages is explicitly included.² Even the practical-minded Kautilya has groups of ten, two hundred and eight hundred villages.³ The Rājput dynasties, in this area as well as in Rājputānah, had their *chaurāsīs*, or groups of eighty-four villages.⁴ These names are obviously too precise and covered, in all probability, an area only approximately corresponding to the description; and, of course, with the growth of the population this area would be sub-divided into smaller divisions bearing the same name. Probably what was officially termed a *chaurāsī* under the Rājputs was, in popular parlance, known by the old name for a group of a hundred villages. In Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's time, the appellation seems to have stuck to the *parganah*. The term *ṣadī* does not seem to have been officially adopted which would explain its absence from contemporary chronicles.

The entire system lived on the efforts of the *mazāri*⁵ or peasant. Writers like Jayaswal and Ghoshal hold that in pre-Muslim India the cultivator was the owner; F. W. Thomas thinks that 'the ultimate property in the land appertained, in the sense which has since prevailed, to the king; that is to say, the king was entitled to revenue therefrom, and in default could replace the cultivator in his holding.'⁵ Whatever may have been

¹ *Shukranīti*, p. 25 A village (*grāma*)=25,000,000 sq. cubits=6,250,000 sq. yds =2'017 sq. miles.

² *Viśhnū*, iii, pp. 7-15; *Manū*, vii, pp. 115-119.

³ *Arthashastra*, p. 49. ⁴ *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 55, 56.

⁵ For this controversy vide *Early History of India*, pp. 137, 138; *Maurayan Public Finance*, pp. 52, 53, 57-63; *Evolution of Indian Polity*, pp. 172-176; *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 81-103, etc. Also, C. H. I., i, p. 475.

the peasant's position in Hindu states, he was certainly recognized to be the owner under Muslim law.¹ Land paying *kharāj* or *ushr* is the property of the tax-payer and he is allowed to sell it. The right of sale and purchase was recognized in the Sultanate; for there are references in *Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhī* and other law books of the period to the transfer of land by sale from one tax-payer to another. (It has been suggested that the relations between the state and the peasantry were governed by the conception that the cultivator had only duties and no rights.) Such an idea is foreign to Muslim law. It seems to have arisen from the fact that if a peasant does not cultivate his holding without any excuse, the state may demand the *kharāj* from him. This has been taken to mean that a peasant is forced to cultivate his land. (The *shar'* gives no such authority to the state: it has been permitted only to demand the *kharāj* if the peasant leaves his land uncultivated without any excuse.) When the owner of the land had sufficiently valid reasons for not cultivating his holding, the state very often had it cultivated through its agents and paid any surplus to the owner after deducting the cost of cultivation and the *kharāj*. There could be no greater proof of the fact that the peasant was recognized to be the owner of his land.⁴ Even if it be conceded that the state could force the peasant to cultivate the land, the peasant did not lose his proprietary rights; he was only saddled with the public obligation of keeping up the produce.⁵ Some authors are led away by certain incidents involving confiscation of land by the state; such confiscations, however, fall into an entirely different legal category. Confiscation of property was

¹ *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter XXVIII enunciates this principle most clearly.

² *Fiqh-i-Firūzshāhī* i, ff. 410b, 411b, 414b; D. A., p. 64.

³ *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter XXVIII, D. A., p. 64.

⁴ D. A., p. 66.

⁵ For a fuller discussion *vide* the author's article on 'The ownership of Agricultural land during Muslim Rule in India'—*Journal of Indian History*, December, 1942

a well-known punishment for high treason and rebellion ; so if a man rebelled, his land, like his other property, was confiscated. A peasant was seldom, if ever, accused of rebellion ; the whole agrarian policy of the Sultanate was directed towards increasing the cultivation ; peasants were a precious possession who could, if oppressed, find new homes in neighbouring territories or tributary states where they would be welcome. There was a genuine competition for peasants who would bring more land under cultivation ; since, as a Muslim writer puts it, " treasure comes from the abundance of peasants and the cultivation of the soil."¹ The peasants were, therefore, treated with consideration, and the sultans were anxious to protect them from the oppression of petty officials and Hindu middlemen.² It was also a well established tradition to advance money called *sondhār*, in times of drought or scarcity. So large were the amounts advanced by Muḥammad bin Tughluq that they could not be recovered ; Firūz, on the advice of his ministers, wrote off these loans.³

The most marked traces of Hindu influence are found in the administration of the villages and the *pargana*hs, where Hindu officials, sometimes with their ancient designations, continued to function with little change in their duties. When Muḥammad bin Qāsim conquered Sind, " the citizens and villagers were allowed to furnish the tax-collectors themselves ; the Brahmans were protected and entrusted with high offices, for which their education made them indispensable ; and the conqueror's instructions were wise and conciliatory."⁴ The administration of the smaller areas and revenue was left entirely in the hands of the Hindus.⁵ This example must

¹ *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 18 ; *Baranī*, e.g., p. 432 ; *Tāj*, ff. 84b, 256a, etc. ; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letters I, IV, XXX ; *Diwān-i Khidr Khān*, p. 31.

² *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 18 ; ' *Afif*, p. 92 ; I. B., ii, p. 55.

³ ' *Afif*, pp. 92-94 ; *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī*, p. 124.

⁴ *Medieval India* (Lane-Poole), pp. 10, 11.

⁵ *Chachī-nāmah*, p. 210 ; *Tuḥfat-u'l-kirām*, f. 259b.

have been followed by Sulṭān Maḥmud of Ghaznah when he annexed the Panjāb ; for he could not dispense with the technical knowledge possessed by the Hindu officials. Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak continued this tradition, which was maintained by all the sultans of Dehlī. The government dealt with the peasant through the headman of the village who was called a *muqaddam* or a *mukhiyā*. The former term was loosely applied to men of note as well as to village headmen ; the latter is a Hindu title and does not find mention in the Persian chronicles, but it is used even to-day in the United Provinces and dates back to the pre-Muslim times.¹ The village accountant or *patwārī* kept the revenue records.² He dates back to time immemorial and is mentioned in the *Arthashastra* where he is styled *gopa*.³ The term *khūṭ* has caused considerable difficulty ; it is used by Baranī who does not explain its meaning.⁴ The chronicler, however, uses it antithetically to *balāhar* ; the latter has been identified as a low-caste menial by Blochmann, who argues that the *khūṭ* and the *balāhar* stand for the two extremes in rural society, but his rendering of '*khūṭ wa balāhar*' as 'landowners and tenants' involves, in Moreland's words, "both a logical non-sequitur and an historical anachronism." Moreland correctly concludes that a *khūṭ* was a Hindu chief subject to the sultan.⁵ One question still remains : how did he differ from the *rā'is* and the *rānahs* ? The context seems to imply that the latter were tributaries who ruled over autonomous territories and paid a fixed tribute to the sultan, whereas the former were merely agents who helped the government in assessment and realization of revenue from administered territories. Later the word *zamīndār* came into use ; but it is used indiscriminately for all kinds of chiefs.⁶ The *muqaddams* and *khūṭs* enjoyed great concessions from the beginning of Muslim rule and lived a

¹ For *muqaddam*, e.g., Baranī, pp. 288, 291.

² Baranī, p. 288

³ *Arthashastra*, pp. 50, 173.

⁴ Baranī, e.g., p. 291.

⁵ Moreland, pp. 225, 226. Vide Appendix L.

⁶ *Khusraw* uses the word *zamīndārī* in *Diwālrānī Khudr Khān*, p. 70.

life of ease and comfort.¹ As they used their wealth to pile up resources for rebellion, 'Alā-u'd-din Khalji, who had to defend the state against great odds, took away all their privileges.² This naturally caused them considerable hardship, though Baranī's glowing description should be treated with caution.³ After the death of the sultan, the extraordinary measures were withdrawn, and these Hindu officials and agents regained their lost position. Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-din Tughluq directed his officers not to demand *charā'i* or *kharāj* from the *khūts* and *muqaddams* in view of their great responsibility.⁴ By the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq the Hindu gentry had again attained a status which excited jealousy.⁵

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah says that there were, in each *ṣadī*, a *chaudharī* who was the head of the *Parganah* officials. Hindus and a *mutaṣarrif* who collected the revenue.⁶ The statement implies that the *chaudharī* was selected, in some manner, to represent the peasants; probably the notables were consulted before the appointment was made. In many instances, the post would be hereditary; but the idea of some kind of an election should not be dismissed entirely, for certain professional and caste brotherhoods elect their *chaudharīs* even now. We read of the *qānūngū* under the Afghāns; this officer was the keeper of previous schedules of assessment.⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah does not mention the subordinate staff without whom the *mutaṣarrif* could not work. Baranī mentions the staff, but does not go into details.⁸ To the *mutaṣarrif*, whom he also calls the '*āmil*', Baranī adds the *mushrif*, the *muḥaṣṣil*, *gumāsh tahs*, *sarhangs* and "the staff in the offices."⁹ The *mushrif* was the

¹ Baranī, p. 291.

² *Idem*, p. 288.

³ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 82.

⁴ D. A., p. 34, defines *qānūn* as a schedule of assessment which has been in use for at least three years. A *qānūngū*, therefore, is a keeper of such schedules.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 287.

⁶ *Idem*, pp. 429-430.

⁷ I. B., ii, p. 78.

⁸ Baranī, pp. 288, 289, 431.

⁹ *Idem*, pp. 288, 289. The '*āmil*' is found under the Abbasids as well, *Mez*, p. 81. I. B., ii, p. 14, also mentions the '*āmil*'.

inspector who actually saw the crops and determined the government share; it was his duty to adjudicate impartially between the state and the peasant. The *muḥaṣṣil* received the payment made in cash or kind by the peasants.¹ (A *gumāshṭah* is an agent; the *sarhangs*, like the modern *chaprāsis*, served peasants or *muqaddams* with official orders or summonses.² Baranī also uses the word *kārkunān*, which could hardly have been employed in a non-technical sense, for the chronicler knew the administrative jargon of the day too well. In view of later evidence, (they would be the clerks who kept the accounts.) Under the Afghāns, the *shiqq* disappeared from at least the major portion of the Sultanate, and the 'āmil or the *mutaṣarrif* came to be known as the *shiqqdār*.³ Under Sher Shāh Sūr one finds practically the same administrative machinery for a *parganaḥ*; there is the *shiqqdār*, the head of the local administration, the *mushrif*, now also called the *amīn* or the *munṣif*, the treasurer and the *kārkuns*. (The fact that the *mushrif* was now known as the *amīn*, the holder of a trust, or the *munṣif*, a judge, throws a favourable light on the ideals of the administration.) He was not a publican to extract the uttermost for Cæsar, but was regarded as an impartial adjudicator between the state and the peasant. (The *muḥaṣṣil* now becomes the *foṭahdār*, *khazānchī* or *khazānahdār*, all synonyms for 'treasurer.') The *kārkuns* still remain, keeping the books both in Hindi and in Persian, so that the peasant and the state could know where they stood regarding their financial transactions.⁴

The chronicles do not contain sufficient material for reconstructing a description of the administration in a *shiqq*; we glean a little more about the *sarkār* which replaced it. It seems that the head officials were the *shiqqdār-i-shiqqdārān* or the chief

¹ In determining their duties I have been guided by the etymology of their titles and the description of the administration under the Afghāns. The *muḥaṣṣil*'s duties have been defined in D. A., p. 36

² Baranī, p. 288. ³ Vide Appendix M. ⁴ Vide Appendix M.

shiqqdār, the *munṣif-i-munṣifān* or the chief assessment officer and a treasurer.¹

No description of local government would be complete without a discussion of the position and powers of Hindu tributary chiefs. A large number of powerful hereditary lords existed under the Gurjāra-Pratīhāras of Kanauj whose sway extended from the Himalayas to the Narbada.² These chiefs really date back to an earlier era. "The administration of the Mauryan Empire," says a modern writer, "was possible because it . . . aimed only at an elastic system of federalism or confederation."³ Indeed the local chieftains had been left much to themselves by the various dynasties of Hindu India. The tributaries had never been particularly amenable to control; their intransigence had, in places, been sanctified by tradition and a strange sense of honour, for instance, the Mowāssī and Grassī chiefs in Gujrāt "felt themselves bound in honour to withhold tribute till a body of soldiers appeared against them even under the British government."⁴ The chiefs were mostly left in possession of their estates by Muslim conquerors.⁵ They were, however, always ready to withhold tribute and to create trouble: the slightest weakening of the government was a signal for revolt. 'Alā-u'd-dīn broke their power; Muḥammad bin Tughluq advanced them to honour and position; Firūz pacified the chiefs by subduing them and then restoring their possessions and adding to their dignity: but all was in vain.⁶ The only conclusive argument in statecraft is force; the weakening of central control offered them an irresistible temptation. Even the *khūṭs* and *muqaddams* were not always docile; 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī reduced their power; when Sher Shāh

¹ Vide Appendix M. ² *Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 54.

³ *Local Self-government in Ancient India*, p. 10.

⁴ *Rise and Fall of the Muhammadan Power in India*, IV, p. 18 (footnote).

⁵ E.g., in Sind; *Tuḥfat-u'l-kirām*, f. 260b.

⁶ For 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī, Baranī, pp. 287, 288; for Muḥammad bin Tughluq, *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 120b; for Firūzshāh, *Eiḥé*, 120b, f. 492.

took charge of his father's *parganah*, he had first to deal with the insubordination of the *muqaddams* and the *zamīndārs*. Some governors appointed Muslim headmen in a few places; this policy could only succeed where Muslim peasantry existed in substantial numbers.¹ A Muslim headman in a Hindu village would be useless. The Hindu chief played such an important rôle in the rural life of the period that, to many, he was the government, whereas the sultan was almost a mythical figure.

A large empire cannot be well-governed without good means of communication. As regards the transmission of news, eloquent tributes have been paid by foreign travellers to the news-service maintained by the sultans of Dehlī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah says that the royal post took five days to carry letters from Sind to Dehlī, a distance covered by the ordinary travellers in fifty days. The transmission was of two kinds: one by horsemen, the other by runners.² For the first there were relay stations every four *kroh*; for the second there was a stage every quarter of a *kroh*.³ At each station there were three shelters where men waited all ready to take a letter and run hard to the next post. The approach of a runner was heralded by the sound of bells at the end of the stick which he carried.⁴ Ten of these runners, called *dhāwāhs*, were kept at every station.⁵ This runner post was quicker than the *ulāgh* by which name the horse post was known; it was also used for the conveyance of *Khurāsān* fruit, and of drinking water from the Ganges which was carried to the sultan even as far as distant Daulatābād.⁶ Sometimes the

¹ I. B., ii, p. 13.

² *Idem*, pp. 3, 4

³ I. B., (ii, pp. 3, 4) says $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *kroh*, but *Baranī* (p. 332), who ought to know better, says $\frac{1}{2}$. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* (pp. 98, 99) says that the posts were a *kroh* apart. This chronicle is not contemporary; besides, if the posts were a *kroh* apart, the service would not be so speedy.

⁴ I. B., ii, pp. 3, 4.

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 332; E. & D., iii, p. 581; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 53, 54.

⁶ I. B., ii, pp. 3, 4.

post was used to transport men who were carried in litters.¹ The sultan's *barīds*, distributed all over the empire, furnished him with news by this means. They reported on the arrival of foreigners in the dominions, on matters of special interest, on the doings of the various officials, even on the gossip of the bazaars and the feelings of the people.² Special lines were established to keep in touch with expeditionary forces.³ In addition to the runner post, Muḥammad bin Tughluq organized a system by which signals could be speedily transmitted. Between the larger towns, chains of kettle-drums were established so that an alarm sounded in a far off frontier town could quickly reach the sultan.⁴ The system of a fast post was maintained with varying degrees of efficiency by all the dynasties; it is described in all the leading chronicles.⁵ It is doubtful if the post carried private letters: it is certain, however, that the soldiers on expeditions were able to communicate with their families.⁶ Closely allied with the post was the system of agents and spies who kept the central government informed of all happenings; this had a salutary effect on local officials who knew that their actions were unlikely to remain hidden from the sultan and his ministers.⁷ The news-writers can be broadly divided into two categories: the *barīds* who resembled modern newspaper reporters and sent regular letters, and the extraordinary agents and spies sent on special missions.

¹ *Dā'ūdī*, f. 78a.

² I. B., ii, pp. 3, 4.

³ *Baranī*, p. 331.

⁴ E. & D., iii, p. 582; *Masāḥk-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 54, 55. The drums could not have been intended to inform the sultan of the closing and opening of the gates.

⁵ *Tāj*, f. 183a; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, i, pp. 166, 337; ii, p. 106; *ʿAfīf*, pp. 182, 183; *Dā'ūdī*, ff. 25a, 78a; *Erskine*, i, p. 350.

⁶ *ʿAfīf*, pp. 182, 183. If the incident mentioned here be considered extraordinary, there is a casual mention on p. 211.

⁷ E.g., *Siyāsat-nāmah*, p. 57; *Dā'ūdī*, f. 25a; vide Chapter IV.

The sultans realized very early that their hold on the country could never be strong without good roads. One of the main duties of governors appointed by Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak was to protect the roads.¹ İltutmish and Balban cut down forests and ran roads into the interior to open up the country and to make it difficult for the chieftains to rebel.² 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khalji's success in maintaining peace should partially be attributed to his energetic measures for the safety of the roads.³ Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq revived the policy; and, when, under Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah came to India, he found a good system of long arterial roads.⁴ The road, for instance, between Dhār and Dehlī, a distance of twenty-four days' journey, was marked by *kroh minārs* all along the route.⁵ Sher Shāh is credited with much road construction; he is said to have built the road from Rohtās on the north-west frontier to Sonārgāon on the sea in Bengal.⁶ It is difficult to believe that Dehlī had no road connections either with Lāhor or Bengal before his reign; Bābur could not have posted relays of horses from Kābul to Dehlī without the existence of a road.⁷ However, Sher Shāh put the road communications of the Sultanate on a sound basis. Along with the roads, there was a network of *khānqāhs* and *sarā'is* where the traveller, Hindu or Muslim, could find free food and shelter.⁸ Indeed, we are told that every *ulāgh* post had mosques, reservoirs full of good water and shops where the traveller could buy food for himself and his mount.⁹ The great builder of *sarā'is* was Sher Shāh; he built one at every *kroh* of his famous roads. Each *sarā'i* had a mosque, a well, and food and drinking water for

¹ *Tāj*, f. 129.² *Baranī*, pp. 57, 58.³ *Idem*, p. 340.⁴ *Idem*, p. 443; I. B., e.g., ii, p. 103.⁵ I. B., ii, p. 103.⁶ *Sarwānī*, f. 71b; *Dā'ūdī*, f. 78a.⁷ *Erskine*, i, p. 530⁸ E. & D., iii, p. 581; *Sujān Rāi* says that food was provided by the state for the Hindus as well as Muslims.⁹ E. & D., iii, p. 581; I. B., ii, p. 28; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, p. 54.

Hindus as well as Muslims. The travellers were provided with hot water and bedsteads, also with fodder for their horses.¹ Islām Shāh built more *sarā'is*, so that now there was a *sarā'i* at every half *kroh*.² In those days a cheaper method of communication was provided by the great natural waterways, the big rivers, which are such a feature of India; river traffic was guarded by a river police under the *mir bahr*.

All these communications had to be protected against robbers. The worst offenders were the Hindu chieftains who waylaid travellers and traders. Whenever these chieftains were in a state of rebellion, they took refuge in the thick jungle; some of them possessed fortresses which had to be reduced by siege or carried by assault.³ The worst area was that now forming the United Provinces; in certain parts the descendants of the chieftains are still notorious dacoits. The provincial governors and, later, the chief *shiqqdārs* in the *sarkārs* were responsible for maintaining order.⁴ Forts were built at strategic points where *kotwāls* were stationed to keep the roads open and punish thieves; later these *kotwāls* came to be known as *faujdārs*.⁵ At other places, *thānahs* were established, which contained bodies of troops.⁶ A more effective method of keeping peace in the country was to plant colonies of warlike Muslims in the midst of rebellious tribes. Balban, for instance, built towns for Muslims with fortresses and mosques in the old Hindu strongholds of Kampil, Patiali

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, p. 106; *Sarwānī*, f. 71; *Dā'ūdī*, f. 78; *Ma'dan-i-akhbār-i-Aḥmadi*, f. 114.

² *Dā'ūdī*, f. 103a. This seems to be an exaggeration; but the chronicles are unanimous. Probably these extra *sarā'is* were built in densely populated areas.

³ I. B., II, p. 78. The same authority says that the bamboo jungles could not even be set on fire.

⁴ E.g., *Pilgrimage and Teachings of Chaitanya*, pp. 225-229.

⁵ *Baranī*, e.g., pp. 58, 302; for *faujdārs*, *Baranī*, p. 480.

⁶ *Idem*, e.g., pp. 57, 330, 331.

and Bhojpūr.¹ So successful was this method that it kept the road to eastern Hindustān open until the reign of Fīrūz Shāh.² The cutting down and opening up of the dense forests also made robbery more difficult.³

A more direct plan was to make the areas concerned collectively responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. Sher Shāh was acting on an old custom when he made the *muqaddam* pay the amount robbed from a wayfarer within or near his jurisdiction; similarly the *muqaddam* remained under arrest for any murder committed within his area until his people found the culprit.⁴ This may appear unjust and harsh, but it was based on a true understanding of the reality of the situation.⁵ Sher Shāh's method was so successful that all authorities bear striking testimony to the security in his dominions.⁶ The view that Sher Shāh was not the first to adopt a system of collective security finds strong corroboration in two stone inscriptions found at Tirukkolakkūdi and Kandādevi in South India which date back to 761 and 771 A.H. (1360 and 1369 A.C.). The villages belonged to the sultanate of Madurā, and the inscriptions record the villagers' undertaking to keep the peace in their neighbourhood and to protect the weak.⁷ Khusrāw says about 'Alā-u'd-dīn's reign that "the very thieves who, before this, set villages on fire, now lit the lamps and guarded the highways; if a traveller lost a piece of thread, the people of the vicinity either found it or paid its price."⁸ The result of such measures was that, in the poet's own words, "from the mouth of the Indus to the seashore, no one even heard the name of a thief, a thug or a robber."⁹ This tranquillity continued, without any effort on his part, under Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh.¹⁰ Ibn Baṭṭūṭah found the Doāb in a state of rebellion

¹ Barani, *et al.*, v. 58

² *Ibid.*

³ *Idem*, p. 57.

⁴ Sarwānī, i. 72

⁵ *Idem*, ii. 72h, 73a.

⁶ Dā'ūdī, i. 77b.

⁷ South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, pp. 226-230.

⁸ Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ, pp. 19, 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ 'Iṭṭis-i-Khusrāwī, i, p. 34.

because the good work begun by Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak and carried on by other sultans crumbled under Muḥammad bin Tughluq ; Firūz once again restored peace ; then anarchy stalked abroad.¹ Sikandar Lodī and Sher Shāh are the outstanding later sultans who gave peace to the land to such an extent that, in the words of the panegyrist, 'if an old woman carried a trayful of gold and slept in forests, she did not require a watchman.'²

¹ Firūz Shāh's success in restoring peace is described well in *Sīrat-i-Firūzshāhī*, pp. 279-284.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, ii, p. 106 ; *Dā'udī*, f. 37a.

CHAPTER XI

THE SPIRIT OF THE GOVERNMENT

NOTHING depicts the life of a people better than the institutions which they build up and maintain ; the creative spirit which expresses itself in literature and art is no less active in the realm of politics and administration. A nation regulates its life through the organization of the state which reflects its needs, its idealism, its endeavour. The student has to search beyond administrative institutions if he desires to understand the nature of a state ; he must discover, if he can, the motive force which drives the machinery of government.

The primary need in those troubled days was protection from barbarous Mongol hordēs without and from anarchy within ; hence the necessity of a strong ruler. The Law required the people to elect their leader ; Turkish tradition adhered to the principle of heredity. Practical men compromised by electing a member of the ruling dynasty ; but if he did not prove capable, a new monarch, whose experience and prowess held out promise of the coveted security, was acclaimed. The state flourished if the politically conscious elements succeeded in discovering able leaders ; the throne of Dehlī was not a bed of roses, it required men of strong determination and iron will. In form the Sultanate was a monarchy, partially elective, partially hereditary ; in reality it was a dictatorial bureaucracy.

By the logic of circumstances, the Sultanate could not be feudal so long as the Mongols knocked at its doors. The sultans, except for the brief period of the Lodī supremacy, kept standing armies and employed paid generals, governors and agents who could be dismissed or transferred at the

royal will. With a savage enemy on the threshold, merit was the only stepping-stone to greatness. The administration, therefore, was a bureaucracy, the major portion of which was not affected by changes of dynasty. It is a common mistake to think that a change of ruler involved the very current of the life of the people ; actually, only a small number of leading officials were affected. These revolutions were little more than ripples on the surface beneath which the water continued to flow steadily.

Not can the geographical factor be ignored. For the greater part of its history, the Sultanate extended over vast regions divided by mountains, rivers and dense forests. The immensity of the country taxed to the uttermost the manpower of the rulers ; much depended on the co-operation of the people. They had to be treated tactfully and it was necessary to give them considerable autonomy. The powers of distant governors tended to get beyond central control. It would, however, be wrong to think that the authority at the capital was weak in normal times ; revolt in the provinces was the exception, not the rule.

What was the spirit which inspired the ruling class and regulated its actions? The political treatises and general literature of the period reveal a high estimation of kingly duties. There can be little doubt that the sage and the peasant alike expected the ruler to be a father to his people. If their sayings are any index to their beliefs, the sultans of Dehli aspired to play the part of good rulers. There certainly stand out men like Kaiqubād whose only motive was the pursuit of pleasure ; isolated acts of barbaric cruelty disfigure the chronicles ; but to expect the absence of selfish and wilful monarchs in the course of more than three centuries of the Middle Ages is to ask for perfection in human affairs. On the whole the guiding principle of the sultans was benevolence ; they aspired to serve and protect ' the servants of God ' entrusted to their care. The truth of this statement is apparent from the charitable deeds of the sultans and their nobility, the numerous hospitals, hospices, inns

and caravanserais, the free kitchens for the poor, the measures to fight famines and droughts, the instructions to officers regarding their dealings with the people and the accessibility of the monarch to the poorest and the most humble of his people. His secret services kept him informed of any maltreatment of his subjects by his agents and servants; his courts of justice functioned in the remotest parts to protect the weak from the strong. The ambition of the sovereign was to compel the wolf and the lamb to drink from the same stream of his justice; if he sometimes failed in his mission, it was because of the incapacity or disobedience of his agents.

The question, however, may be asked whether this attitude of benevolence embraced all the subjects of the sultan without distinction of creed and class. Did it, in particular, include the Hindus? Neither isolated acts of tolerance and benevolence nor spasmodic instances of persecution should be allowed to obscure the general course of state policy. The only way of arriving at the truth is to examine the statements of monarchs and political writers regarding the policy to be followed in the treatment of the Hindus; in the light of this information alone will it be possible to view the various incidents in their proper perspective. Another important consideration is that the chroniclers write for effect; their audience is the rest of the Islamic world. At this particular period the Persian speaking part of the Muslim world happened to be under the grinding tyranny of infidel, uncivilized Mongols; hence the chroniclers saw an excellent opportunity for display by telling the down-trodden Muslims in other lands how powerful the Faithful were in India. This propagandist tendency in the average Muslim chronicler of our period should be constantly kept in view in spite of the fact that it over-shoots the mark and loses its effect. "The rhapsodies of Muslim historians . . . might delude us into the belief that the early Muslim occupation of northern India was one prolonged holy war waged for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam," says Sir Wolseley Haig, "had we not

proof that this cannot have been the case."¹ The sultans were conscious of the need of reconciling the people even at the time of the conquest.²

The general attitude of the state is depicted in Baranī's dictum that a sultan who does not gain the support of all his subjects is a usurper.³ In discussing the duties of a king in times of distress he lays down that the subjects should be helped in every respect; the *khārāj* and *jizyah* should be reduced or even remitted.⁴ It is obvious that as the *jizyah* was paid only by Hindus, they were not to be excluded from the measures of relief. As far as hospitals and *sarā'is* are concerned, there is not only no record of the exclusion of Hindus, but special arrangements for their convenience are mentioned.⁵ The attitude of Muslim rulers is crystallized in Sher Shāh's phrase: "The Muslims and non-Muslims alike are entitled to my justice."⁶ The state was seldom forgetful of the needs of the *dhimmīs*.⁷

Apart from the general attitude of the state, the treatment of a conquered people affects its life in five ways; religious, political, cultural, economic and social.

As regards religion, the Hindus were accorded the status of an allied people, *dhimmīs*, from the very beginning of Muslim rule.⁸ Legally, they were allowed full religious freedom except in one particular direction; they were not permitted to build new temples without previous sanction. In actual practice, there is no instance on record when this permission was withheld. If

¹ C. H. I., iii, pp. 88, 89.

² *Tāj*, ff. 9b, 84b, 144a, 157a, 192b, 198a, 256a, etc.

³ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, ff. 55b, 56a.

⁴ *Idem*, f. 91b.

⁵ *Afif*, pp. 353-360; *Sarwānī*, f. 71b. There was a deep-rooted tradition in Muslim hospitals of treating *dhimmīs* "in precisely the same way as Muslims," *Mez*, p. 43.

⁶ *Sarwānī*, f. 67b.

⁷ *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter I, where a new governor is exhorted to look after "all the *khārāj*-paying and obedient subjects." Also *idem*, Letter II; *Tāj*, ff. 9b, 80b; 157b. 164a.

⁸ *Chach-nāmah*, p. 210; *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 120a.

temples were destroyed, it was in newly conquered towns and territories which had refused to submit. Temples built without permission were sometimes demolished. In certain areas the Hindus demolished mosques and converted them into idol temples: naturally when they were conquered again, these buildings were reconsecrated as mosques and given to Muslims.¹ The Hindus practised their religion openly and with ostentatious display; the private feelings of mighty sultans were not allowed to interfere with this policy of toleration.² The distant villages and small towns could do as they pleased; "even in the capital and the provincial centres, the idols were publicly worshipped, the rites of Hinduism fully practised, the doctrines of their faith maintained in their entirety by the Hindus, who had idol temples and decorated their idols, and on the occasion of their festivals went out in procession, dancing, singing and playing music."³ Even the more puritanical of the sultans could hear the conch-shells and bells of idol temples in their secluded palaces.⁴ The right to preach Hindu doctrines was fully acceded.⁵ Fīrūz Shāh, however, punished some Brahmans for converting Muslims. On the other hand, there is the classic example of Kabīr brought up as a Muslim accepting the spiritual leadership of a Hindu. Chaitānya, the great Vaishnava reformer, converted a num-

al-qādir
¹ *Sārwanī*, f. 64a. The Muslims inherited the custom of imposing restrictions on the construction of places of worship by the followers of other religions from the Sassanids and the Romans, *Mez*, p. 43.

² *Dā'ūdī*, f. 19. Malik-u'l-'ulamā 'Abd-u'llah Ajodhanī stopped Sikan-dar Lodī from interfering with Hindu worship. Also, *Baranī*, pp. 216-217; *Diwān-rānī Khidr Khān*, p. 46.

³ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 119a; compare the Narāina inscription in Sanskrit (1327 A.C.) which says: "therein lies this town of Dhilli (Dehlī) covered with innumerable jewels, whence sin is expelled through the chanting of the Vedas by the knowers of the sacred lore . . ." *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, pp. 29-33.

⁴ *Baranī*, p. 216.

⁵ Chaitānya's *Pilgrimage and Teachings*, pp. 225-229. Also *Aspects of Bengal Society*, p. 99

ber of Muslims to his faith.¹ Probably, the best tribute to the tolerance of the sultans is the contemporary development of Hinduism as a great spiritual force in the form of the Bhaktī cult which even to-day plays such an important part in the life of the people. The sultans, however, insisted that no woman should burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband without permission, which was withheld only when it was discovered that the widow was performing the dreadful rite under compulsion.²

Politically the Hindus were divided roughly into four classes. The first consisted of the peasantry who were regarded as the basis of all economic life; they were to be cherished and protected³ Moderation in the revenue demand was the rule; 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī's high assessment was the result of the imminent Mongol danger. The peasants were protected from the illegal and vexatious demands of both high and low.⁴ The cultivators had nothing to fear from their Muslim rulers so long as they were not drawn into acts of rebellion or contumacy. The second class was that of the petty revenue officials and clerks. They formed the basis of the bureaucracy ruling the land, and, on account of their aptitude and expert knowledge, were valued as civil servants.⁵ The non-official middle class comprised traders and skilled artisans, who were not only left unmolested but were encouraged by patronage and protection.⁶ Indeed the Muslim conquerors claimed that they had delivered the people from tyranny by establishing their rule.⁷ This may be charac-

¹ *Ibid.*

² I. B., ii, p. 14.

³ *Inshā-i-Mahrū*, Letter XLVI which shows anxiety to save cultivators and *dāmmis* from Mongol raids. The Mongols had now been converted to Islām.

⁴ *Vide* Chapters IV and IX.

⁵ "The most amazing feature of the Islamic government is the number of non-Muslim officers in state service."—*Mez*, p. 51.

⁶ *Inshā-i-Mahrū*, Letter CXXI; *Tāj*, f. 147b.

⁷ *Tāj*, e.g., 84b, 144a, 158a, 214b.

terised as propaganda to reconcile the people to their rule, but it must have possessed a modicum of truth to make it successful, for it did enable them to win the co-operation of large sections of the people in such a short time. Lastly there were the Hindu chiefs. The more important of them were practically independent, the only demand the state made on them was that they should acknowledge the suzerainty of the sultan and be regular in the payment of their tribute. They were also required to maintain standards of good government and justice in their territories.¹ The smaller chief had less power, but he was autonomous to a considerable degree. He led a life of affluence; politically he was a power to reckon with.² From very early times he was employed by the state. Hindu generals and soldiers fought for the Ghaznavids and were generously rewarded; Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak employed Hindu officers and soldiers in his army; Balban honoured Hindu chiefs.³ The power of the latter continuously increased, until 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī reduced it; he did not leave much power to his Muslim nobles either. With the removal of this sultan's strong hand, the chiefs gradually regained their position, and we find them powerful under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. They were not only employed as provincial governors and high revenue officials, but also enjoyed a prestige which excited the jealousy of Muslim

¹ Compare the terms granted to the Rājah of Gwalior by Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad bin Sām:—

- (i) the rājah should accept the suzerainty of the sultan and be faithful to him;
 - (ii) he should be regular in the payment of tribute;
 - (iii) he should protect the interests of the people and order their affairs properly;
 - (iv) he should look after the interests of the military and civil servants posted in his dominions;
 - (v) he should show consideration to the needs of the peasants;
 - (vi) he should discard all methods which are tainted with tyranny;
 - (vii) he should carry out royal commands without delay.
- Tāj, ff. 166b, 167a.

² Vide Chapter X.

³ Baranī, p. 106; Tāj, 158b.

writers.¹ They did not lose their position in the next reign and continued to remain important factors in society.²

Some of Fīrūz Shāh's closest associates were Hindu chiefs; in the anarchy that followed his reign, Hindu chiefs took a hand in the political game of the days.³ Indeed so strong was their position in Eastern Hindustān that it seemed doubtful if Muslim rule would be re-established there.⁴ Even Tīmūr, who had invaded India with the avowed object of ending the toleration extended to the Hindus by Muslims, honoured a number of Hindu chiefs for their help.⁵ The Hindus were strong enough in the neighbourhood of Dehlī to offer Tīmūr a defiant resistance.⁶ The Hindu chiefs under the Lodīs and the Sūrs were contemptible neither as friends nor foes; they were given positions of responsibility.⁷ Akbar's policy towards the Hindus was but a recognition of the power which the Hindus had never lost.

The government never tried to force its own culture on an unwilling people. The Muslim colleges and schools were open to all who cared to enter their portals; but no one was obliged to do so. Muslim rulers and men of letters respected the culture and the knowledge of the Hindus; al-Bīrūnī had interpreted these so well that they could not be despised; Muslim sovereigns employed scholars to translate Sanskrit books into Persian; it is significant that Muslim scholars were available to do it. Indeed one has only to read the glowing panegyrics on Hindu learning and science to be convinced of the respect in which they were held.⁸ The Hindu tradition

¹ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 120b.

² *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter I which is addressed to "the amīrs, the great men, the *rā'is*, the *rājās* of the *iqīm* of Sind." Letter III is addressed to *muqti's...rā'is*, *rājās*, *thākurs*, etc. Also, *vide Sirat-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 13.

³ *Baranī*, pp. 587, 588; *'Afīf*, p. 103; *Ethé*, 120, f. 492b, also Chapter X.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, pp. 156, 157.

⁵ *Zafar-nāmah* (Yazdī), ii, p. 48.

⁶ *Idem*, pp. 121, 122.

⁷ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, ii, p. 119 on Hīmū's rise.

⁸ *Nuh Sipīhr*, *Sipīhr-i-sewum*.

tion in architecture mingled with the simplicity of Muslim design and enriched the very niches which the Faithful faced while praying to the Eternal God.¹ The plaintive and meditative melodies of Hind evoked a response in the bold hearts of stalwart Turkish warriors.² The great *Khusraw* was not too proud to sing his compositions to the cadences of Hindu music; when he lost his spiritual guide, the saint *Nizām-u'd-dīn*, who was also his greatest friend, the sorrow of his heart found melancholy expression in Hindi verse.³ It was the patronage of Muslim provincial courts which laid the foundation of vernacular literatures.

The Hindu population was better off under the Muslims than under Hindu tributaries or independent rulers.⁴ Their financial burden was lighter than it had been for some centuries in pre-Muslim days.⁵ The contemporary chronicles give an impression of prosperity; this was based upon a limited population in a large country, so that the holdings were large and the forest could easily supply a number of necessities.⁶ Industrially India was in a strong position for she manufactured most of her necessities and exported finished

¹ Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ii, pp. 197, 198.

² Hindu music soon entered Muslim courts; one comes across names like *Ḥamīd Rajah* (*Baranī*, p. 199) among the lists of court singers. This man was obviously a convert. *Khusraw* himself was well versed in Hindu music.

³ *Khusraw kī Hindī Kavita*, p. 4. The most touching couplet is:—

گوری سووے سچ پر مکھ پر ڈارے کیس
چل خسرو گھر اپنے رین بجٹی سب دیس

⁴ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, ff. 118b, 119a; also Chapter VI.

⁵ *Vide* Chapter VI. It was the policy of the sultans to reconcile the people by reducing their financial burdens, *vide* *Tāj*, f. 144b.

⁶ *Waṣṣāf* (Bombay edition), p. 300; 'A *fīf*, pp. 288-293; *Barbosa*, i, pp. 141, 178; ii, pp. 140-147; *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*, pp. 10, 22, 55, 56, 59, 61.

articles like sugar, cloth and arms.¹ Livestock was plentiful,² food was cheap.³ Trade was officially encouraged.⁴ Hindu traders, called *Multānīs*, were an integral part of the economic life of the empire; when 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī* set about controlling prices, he had to enlist the support of these merchants.⁵ Indeed they advanced loans on interest to Muslim nobles; the sultan's government enforced their claims.⁶ We read of the financial power of the Hindus throughout the period; even when *Humāyūn* reconquered the *Panjāb*, *Afghān* soldiers had to be rescued from the clutches of the money-lender.⁷ Practically everything that they possessed had been mortgaged by these Muslim soldiers. Of the great affluence of Hindu chiefs and their life of comfort and ease, 'Alā-u'd-dīn gave a vivid picture in his conversation with *Qāḍī Muḡhīth*. "The *khūts* and the *muqaddams* ride beautiful horses and don elegant dresses," said the sultan, "they use Persian bows, fight one another and go out hunting . . . they gather in assemblies of pleasure and drink wine."⁸ The result of 'Alā-u'd-dīn's special measures was that the chiefs were reduced to comparative poverty. In the days of *Muḡammad bin Tuḡluq* they more than regained their lost position. "The infidels and poly-

¹ *Khusraw* says regarding the fine cloth manufactured in India in his *Ghurraṭ-u'l-kamāl* :—

بپشیم سوزنے صد گز بگنجد از بس لطف
درو بچیلد خرد نوک سوزن پولاد

In *Qurān-u's-sa'dain* he says on p. 132.

جامه هندی که ندانند نام کز تذکی تن بپایند تمام
مانده به پیچیده بداختن نهایی باز کشاؤبشی بپوشد جهای

Fine brocade is mentioned in *Diwān-i Khudr Khān*, p. 153; *Qurān-u's-sa'dain*, p. 83. Also vide *Masālik-u'l-absār*, pp. 10, 21, 22, 29.

² *Tuḡluq-nāmah*, p. 104; *Masālik-u'l-absār*, pp. 22, 59.

³ *Masālik-u'l-absār*, pp. 55, 56.

⁴ *Tāj*, f. 129a; *Chach-nāmah*, f. 138b, 139a; *Inshā-i-Mahrū*, Letter CXXI.

⁵ *Baranī*, p. 311. ⁶ I. B., ii. p. 84. ⁷ *Tadhkirat-u'l-wāqī'āt*, f. 50b.

⁸ *Baranī*, p. 291.

theists are regarded as *khārājīs* and *dhimmīs* and, therefore, they are advanced to great positions and are honoured; they are rewarded with drums, banners and standards inset with jewels; dresses of gold brocade and saddled horses are presented to them; and they are appointed to governorships, high offices and important posts."¹ The same writer goes on to say that even in the capital, the Hindus "build houses like palaces; they wear dresses of gold brocade and ride Arab horses with gold and silver harness; they decorate themselves with a hundred thousand insignia of greatness; they indulge in luxurious comfort; they employ Muslims as their servants who run in front of their horses and the poor among the Muslims beg alms from them and at their palace gates. Inside the very capital of the Sultanate, on the loftiness of which depends the grandeur of the edifice of Islam, they are called (by the proud titles of) *īā'ī*, *īānah*, *thākūr*, *sāh*, *mehtah* and *pandit*."² The last sentence shows that the author refers to all classes of the Hindus; political greatness and affluence were not limited to any particular class of the non-Muslims.

Nor was the Hindu despised socially. The Muslims, generally speaking, have always been Society. remarkably free from racial prejudice. There are instances of Muslim nobles marrying Hindu maidens; of free intercourse between Muslim saints and Hindu *yogīs*; of Hindu followers of Muslim saints and *vice versa*; in short, of a fairly free social intercourse between the two peoples.³ The Hindu was not branded with any social stigma; it was Hinduism which protected itself beneath the strong armour of exclusiveness. The Muslim was unclean; his very touch polluted the food of the twice-born Brahmans and men of the higher castes; the newcomer was outside the pale. In fairness to Hinduism, it must be remembered that this treatment was not limited to the Muslim; but praise cannot be withheld from the conquering

¹ *Fatāwā-i-jahāndārī*, f. 120a.

² *Idem*, ff. 120a, b.

³ *Puruṣh Parikṣhā*, *Fawā'id-u'l-fawā'id*; *Ṣaḥā'if-i-Ṣhaḥkh* *Ṣadr-u'd-dīn*; *Ṣaḥā'if-u'l-tarīqah*.

race for their tolerance in cheerfully submitting to this humiliation. But no armour is proof against ideas; the impact with Islam caused a great searching of heart among the Hindus and produced religious leaders who were deeply influenced by the doctrine of the Muslim faith.¹

The Hindu attitude towards their Muslim rulers can be determined from literary works and folklore, where the sultans are depicted as receiving help from Hindu princes in times of need and rewarding them for their services.² Of special interest is a Hindu inscription partly in Sanskrit and partly in the vernacular of Hariyānah: though a panegyric, it illustrates the Hindu attitude towards the sultans. It is dated 1337 of the Vikrama era (1280-1 A.C.) when Balban was on the throne. Lavish praise is bestowed on the Muslim rulers; Balban in particular is described as "he, throughout whose contented realm, under his great and good government, from Gaur to Ghaznah, from the Dravida country and Rameshwaram, everywhere the earth bears the beauty of sylvan spring." His armies "ensure the peace and security enjoyed by all." So great is the sultan's care for his people that "Vishnu himself has retired from the care of the world and gone to sleep on the ocean of milk." The sultan's capital, Dehli, also comes in for poetic eulogy.³ In another inscription, Muḥammad bin Tughluq is praised as "the crest-jewel of all rulers of the earth."⁴

¹ E.g., Nāmadeva's beautiful lines:—

Of me who am blind Thy name, O King, is the prop;

I am poor, I am miserable, Thy name is my support.

Bounteous and Merciful Allah, Thou art generous;

I believe that Thou art present before me;

Thou art a river of bounty; Thou art the giver: Thou art exceedingly wealthy;

Thou alone givest and takest, there is none other.

Thou art wise, Thou art far-sighted; what conception can I have of Thee?

O Nāma's Lord, Thou art the pardoner, O Lord!

(*Sikh Religion*, VI, p. 52.)

² E.g., *Prusha Pariksha*, introduction.

³ *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1913-14, pp. 35-45. Palam inscription.

⁴ *Proceedings of A.S.B.* (May, 1873); and catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology. Naraina inscription.

These considerations lead us to believe that the care of the sultans embraced all their subjects ; indeed tolerance was an abiding feature of the government of the sultanate.¹ It is true that feelings were sometimes aroused and visions clouded by a spirit of vengeance ; but these were only passing storms. This was only to be expected in a state where the level of culture was so high. Stone and mortar reveal but little of the story of the cultural glory that was Dehlī. Khusraw, Ḥasan and Badr-i-Chāch are only the taller trees in a forest ; if Indian music had been written and preserved, more Tān Sens and ʿĀdil Khāns would have survived ; of the great colleges and eminent teachers nothing is left but a casual mention in chronicles and travellers' tales ; the paintings on the walls of royal palaces are gone ; all that remains is a jejune chronicle of revolutions, rebellions and wars. When the scrutinizing gaze of research penetrates the dust-clouds raised by trampling armies and fighting hordes, a vision of the real sultanate is granted to the student which reveals a pageantry of patient administrators, of earnest philosophers and teachers, of artists and master-builders, of religious thinkers and saintly reformers.

¹ *Vide supra*, also, *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letters I and II ; *Tāj*, 9b, 80b, 157b, 164a.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE CALIPH

THE oath of allegiance signed by Mas'ūd of Ghaznah runs as follows :—

"I render allegiance to my chief and sovereign, 'Abd-u'llah ibn 'Abd-u'llah Abū Ja'far Imām Qā'im bi-amr-i'llah, Commander of the Faithful, and make a vow of being obedient to him . . . As he is our sovereign and lord . . . it is incumbent on us and all followers of Muḥammad to obey him, to follow his advice, to recognize his leadership and to cherish him . . . I will never doubt this ; I will not fail him ; I will not turn to any one except him ; I will be a friend to his friends and an enemy to his foes . . . I will never consider it justifiable to turn against him in any circumstances and at any time and will do nothing which may go against this vow . . . And whereas this oath of allegiance is like a collar on my neck, . . . if I break it or a part of it . . . openly or secretly, explicitly, or on some pretext, explaining it away by ambiguous interpretations . . . let it amount to my not believing in the Holy Qur'ān, in Him Who has revealed it and in him through whom it has been revealed, and my turning away from Allah and His Apostle . . . Everything that I possess at the time of taking this oath or which may come into my possession during the rest of my life . . . shall no longer remain my (lawful) possession . . . If I do not fulfil this oath that I have taken, may Allah not accept my repentance or amends and may He punish me on the day when I have to look to Him . . . for His support . . ." (*Baihaqī*, pp. 370-374.)

APPENDIX B

THE SŪRS AND THE CALIPHATE

DR. TRIPATHI (*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 98) thinks that Sher Shāh claimed the caliphate for himself, this belief is based on the following numismatic evidence :—

(i) The phrase '*ḵhalīfat-u'z-zamān*', 'the Caliph of the Age,' appears on some pieces (*N. Wright*, e.g., AE 1257-1281).

I do not think that the sultan refers to himself in this phrase ; my impression is that this legend embodies conventional homage to the caliph ; for instance, Buhlūl's coins bear the title '*nā'ib-i-amīr-u'l-mu'minīn*,' 'the lieutenant of the Commander of the Faithful (e.g., *N. Wright*, AE 942-947) ; yet another of his pieces (*N. Wright*, AE 966 B) has the inscription *al-ḵhalīfah, amīr-u'l-mu'minīn*, which is similar in nature to the legend on Sher Shāh's pieces. There is one difficulty, however, with some of Sher Shāh's pieces mentioned above. The word 'Sultan' appears on both sides of the coins ; on the reverse it can be read as forming part of a continuous phrase meaning 'the Sultan, the Caliph of the Age.' However, I think that 'Sultan' has nothing to do with 'the Caliph of the Age.' Sher Shāh put the word 'Sultan' or '*as-sultān-u'l-'ādil*' on the obverse where it could not form part of the rest of the legend ; for instance, on *N. Wright*, AR 1031 E-1041, 1052-1056, etc., the title 'Sultan' is quite independent. Similarly the legend on the reverse of coins like *N. Wright*, AE 1258-1261 etc. should not be taken to make one continuous phrase. This opinion finds considerable support from coins (*N. Wright*, AE Nos. 1483 C and 1483 D) struck by Sikandar Shāh Sūr where the obverse reads '*sultān-u'l-'ādil, ḵhalīfat-u'z-zamān*', though the sultan's allegiance to the caliph is demonstrated on the obverse o

coins 1482 A, 1483 etc.

(ii) More difficult to explain is the appearance of 'khallada'llahu khulāfatahū' on such pieces as *N. Wright*, AR 1069, AE 1151. This simply shows that the first period of Mughul rule had already seen a weakening in the meaning of 'khulāfat' and that the word was used indiscriminately for 'empire' as well as 'caliphate'. I do not take this inscription to mean that Sher Shāh wanted to proclaim his caliphate; the evidence to the contrary is overwhelming. There are far too many coins bearing references to 'an *amīr*, supporter of the Faith' to justify the theory that Sher Shāh did not own theoretical allegiance to a caliph.

The same observations apply to Islām Shāh's attitude towards the caliphate.

APPENDIX C

SHER SHĀH'S SCHEDULE

THE passage in Blochmann's edition of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Book III, Ā'in XI) reads as follows :—

” در دوه نخستین گزیده و میانه و زبون - هر جنس را فراهم
آورند، سوم بخشش آن ماحصول پندارند، و سه یک آن دست مزد
جهانی برستانند - و ربعی که شیر خاں بر گرفته بود و امروز در همه
صوبها ازو کمتر نشان ندهند پزیرش یافت و برائے آسودگی سپاه و
رعیت ارج برستخته زر باز خواست نمایند“

The reading of the first sentence, in my opinion, is wrong. Blochmann translates the sentence as, "Of the first two kinds of land, there are three classes: good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third of which is exacted as the royal dues." Abū'l-Faḍl is speaking of the classification of land by Akbar into *polaj*, *parautī*, *chāchar* and *banjar*. Blochmann's reading would imply that the first two kinds of land were further subdivided into three classes to calculate an average. This is too complicated a system and does not seem to have been adopted. I think the text should be read without a stop after *زبون* as follows :—

در دوه نخستین گزیده و میانه و زبون هر جنس را فراهم
آورند،

which would translate as, "Of the first two kinds of land, the good, the middling and the bad produce should be added together and a third of this represents the medium produce . . ." To me this seems a more likely and easier method of finding the average produce.

The second part of this passage has been translated by

Blochmann as follows :—

"The revenue levied by Sher Khān, which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment, generally obtained; and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money."

This rendering would convey the sense fairly accurately, though not literally, but for the fact that the word إنتاج has been used which really means 'produce'. Only recently in the Arabic-speaking countries the word has figuratively come to mean 'revenue'; in Abū-'l-Faḍl's days it could only have meant 'produce'. I am inclined to believe that the word is used in its original sense. Akbar accepted Sher Shāh's figures regarding average produce only, and fixed his own demand. If إنتاج is taken to mean 'produce', the translation would be: "The (figures of mean) produce adopted by Sher Shāh, lower than which cannot be found throughout the provinces, were accepted, and for the convenience of etc. etc."

APPENDIX D

MAḤṢŪL-I-MU'ĀMALATĪ

THE relevant sentence reads as :

”از محصول معاملتی که رعایا از دل و جان بے کراحتی و مشقتی و شدت ادا نمایند کفایت کردند“ -

(Baranī, p. 574.) (*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 231.)

Moreland translates it as : “ And a reduction was made in the *maḥṣūl-i-mu'āmalatī* so that the peasants may pay willingly without difficulty or severity.” In a footnote he adds that he has not found any parallel passage to indicate the meaning of *maḥṣūl-i-mu'āmalatī*. “ From the context,” he goes on to say, “ it appears to denote some impost on the peasants, different from the *kharāj* or revenue, but its nature is a matter of conjecture.” Moreland has been led away by the fact that this term has been used only once by Baranī. D. A., p. 36 uses the phrase *māl-i-mu'āmalatī* which is obviously a synonym. The context makes it quite clear that *kūfī* is referring to *kharāj*. On p. 34 the same authority uses *mu'āmalat* for the administration of affairs connected with *kharāj*. The sentence, therefore, simply means that the officers “limited themselves to a demand which the peasants might pay willingly without any hardship or difficulty.” The following parallel passage in *Inshā-i-Māhrū* (Letter XXX) confirms this opinion :—

خراجہ کہ قدیم الایام بود ، و در طبائع کافہ رعایا و عامہ برایا منطبع است و موجب تخریب نیست ' آن اختیار کنند .

Translation : Adopt the *kharāj* which is traditional and has come down from old days, to which the cultivators and the people are accustomed and which will not lead to a decrease in cultivation.

APPENDIX E

FĪRŪZ SHĀH'S REVENUE DEMAND

THE passage is :

‘ماله كه از بيت المال جمع آيد همان وجوهات كه در شرع
مصطفى صلى الله تعالى عليه و آله وسلم آمده است و كتب دينيه
بدان ناطق است’ يکے خراج آراضى عشور و زکوٰۃ ديگر جزيه هنود
و ديگر ترکات ديگر خمس غنائيم و معادن و هر وجهى كه جمع کردن
آن بى حکم کتاب درست نباشد به هيچ وجه در بيت المال جمع نکنند”
(*Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, B.M., or. 2039, f. 300b. Printed text,
p. 6).

The question is : what is the meaning of خراج آراضى عشور ?
If the phrase were خراج آراضى و عشور, the meaning would have
been ‘the *kharāj* from the lands and the tithes.’ The
phrase as it stands can mean (i) the *kharāj* from tithe-
paying lands or (ii) the land *kharāj* of tithes. The former
is more idiomatic and should signify that the *kharāj* from
the lands of the Sultanate was charged on the basis of
tithes ; the second, though unidiomatic, conveys the same
idea. The phrase is translated in *Elliot and Dowson*, (iii, p.
377) as ‘*kharāj* or tenth’ which is very near the literal
meaning but does not convey the true sense.

The *kharāj* based on a system of tithes would amount to
a double ‘*ushr*’ or a fifth. Thus it is clear that Fīrūz Shāh
did not change the demand. This view finds confirmation
in the following parallel passage in *Sīrat-i-Fīrūzshāhī*,
p. 124 :

تا همان وجوهات بر حکم شرع چنانکه خراج آراضى و جزيه
هنود و عشور و زکوٰۃ و ترکات و خمس غنائيم و معادن كه باخذ آن از
راه شرع بادشاه اسلام مامور است و بصرف در مصارف معينه مامور

در جمع آرند و بعوارض و قسمتات وسایر مستحدثات هیچ کسے را از رعایا و برایا از دخام نہ نمایند .

This makes it probable that the original reading in the *Futūḥāt* is خراج آراضی و عشور. Besides the *Inshā-ī-Māhrū*, Letter XXX, says that the emperor's orders were to charge "the traditional *kharāj*." Unless we believe that the traditional proportion was a tenth of the produce, it is difficult to accept the translation in *Elliot and Dowson. D. A.*, (p. 65) in explaining the meaning of *kharāj-i-muqāsimah* says that "it should be less than half, that is, a third, a fourth, a fifth, etc." I do not take this, in view of other evidence, to mean that these figures refer to Fīrūz Shāh's demand in general. 'A fifth' was the prevailing proportion and the other two figures are reminiscent of the level reached in the previous reign when the demand was increased in the *Doāb*. An addition of 5 per cent. and 10 per cent. to the normal 20 per cent. would give a fourth and very nearly a third.' It is significant that *D. A.* does not mention a tenth in connection with *kharāj*.

APPENDIX F

ITLĀQS, ASSIGNMENTS AND OTHER METHODS
OF PAYMENT

THIS is a controversial point : *vide* Moreland's *The Agrarian System in Moslem India*, p. 56, footnote. The passage in question runs as follows : ('*Āfif*, pp. 296-297.)

”اگرچه شاه فیروز در عهد دولت خویش بغراست و کیاست بیش
بازدک مملکت دارالملک اختصار کرده با آن هم مکتوب بلاد ممالک
که آن مقدار بود آن تمام حاصلات را به نسبت هر یک قسمت کرده
خاقان را براندازه خانی و زرعه اسرا و ملوک را بر اندازه کامرانی -
معارف را بر اندازه راحت جانی - وحشم را دیهله در وجه بر
اندازه تن آسانی - و غیر وجهی را ادای مال از خزانه سلطانی -
باقی مایحتاج را اطلاق بحکم فرمان حضرت سلیمانی - چون اطلاق
وجه داران در اقطاع رفتن از هر یک اقطاع وجه یار نصف کامل بر
دست آمده - در آن ایام چندین کسان اطلاقات یاران برای
جانبین خرید می کردند - و ثلث مرتب در شهر می دادند - ایشان
را در اقطاع نصف مسلم رسیده و آن خریداران اطلاقات وجه
اطلاقات از اقطاع در سواد می انداختند“

The last few lines of the text are a little corrupt. The correct reading should obviously be as follows :

”در آن ایام چندین کسان اطلاقات یاران بتراضی جانبین خرید می
کردند - و ثلث مرتب در شهر می دادند - ایشان را در اقطاع نصف
مسلم رسیده و آن خریداران اطلاقات ششم وجه اطلاقات در
سود می اندوختند -“

The first part of the passage is quite clear. We are told that in spite of his reduced dominions, Fīrūz Shāh gave large salaries and assignments to all in accordance with their rank.

The recipients are classified as (i) *khāns*, (ii) *amīrs* and *maliks*, (iii) men of fame and distinction, (iv) regular troops who were assigned villages in lieu of their salaries, and (v) irregular troops who were paid in cash from the sultan's treasury. The rest of the passage has given rise to controversy. The translation of the next few phrases runs as follows in *Elliot and Dowson* :

"The soldiers who do not receive their pay in this manner were, according to necessity, supplied with assignments (*itlāk*) upon the revenues. When these assignments of the soldiers (*wajhdārs*) arrived in the fiefs (*iktā'āt*), the holders used to get about half of the total amount from the fiefs . . ." (iii, p. 346)

This translation is a little too free; I am inclined to translate the relevant sentences as follows: "... The regular soldiers were given villages in lieu of their salary so that they might live in comfort. The irregulars were paid in cash from the royal treasury; the rest, for their (immediate) needs, were given *ıtlāqs* in accordance with His Majesty's orders. When the *ıtlāqs* of the regular soldiers reached the *aqṭā'āt* (the assigned villages), a full half of the soldier's pay was obtained from every *aqṭā'*.¹ In those days many men bought the *ıtlāqs* of the soldiers with mutual consent and paid a third of the salary in the city. They themselves received a full half in the *aqṭā'āt* . . . "

This passage can be analysed as follows :

- (i) Firūz Shāh gave villages in assignment to regular soldiers.
- (ii) Irregular soldiers were paid in cash. These soldiers were not permanent servants and were paid only for the period when they were on duty.
- (iii) During their stay in the city, the regular soldiers (*wajhdārs*) also required cash which they could get only from their assignments. The sultan permitted them to draw a half of their salary; the other half was probably paid to the soldier's family living in the assigned area. This permission

¹ D. A. (pp. 50-51) uses *mashrūḥ* as well for an assignment.

to draw half the salary while the soldier was away from his assignment was termed an *ṭlāq*: it was probably made out in the form of a payment order, which the soldier often discounted for a third of his salary to bankers who would ultimately get the full amount for which the voucher was made. The bankers thus got a sixth of the salary as commission.

Thus *ṭlāq* was simply a form of payment. There is nothing in 'Afīf's description of the difficulties of the soldiers with Firūz Shāh in Gujrāt (pp. 220-221) to militate against this view. The regular soldiers had no banking facilities in a distant province to cash their vouchers; whereas these facilities had been available in the capital. Firūz Shāh overcame this difficulty by advancing a loan from the Treasury.

These views find full confirmation in D. A., p. 50.

The system of *ṭlāq* envisages a system under which the assigned areas were managed by state officials and not by the assignees themselves. D. A. (pp. 47, 48) gives a list of some methods of payment in addition to those described above. The following are the more important :

Milk—literally, property, also applies to land granted in perpetuity. It became the property of the grantee and was inherited by his heirs. Such land was generally granted for pious purposes.

Taswīgh—land granted, generally for pious purposes, on the understanding that it would be resumed at the death of the grantee.

Mawājib—salary.

Idrār—regularly recurring grants in cash to the learned and the pious.

Wazīfah—regular grants for day to day expenses.

Musānahat—an annual grant to dervishes.

'Alūfah—rations given on active service.

Jāmgīnah—a grant for clothing or uniforms.

Mubarrat—a grant given to Sayyids.

In'ām—a grant given as a reward or as a mark of favour.

Tashrif—robes of honour.

Mushāhirah—a monthly salary.

Muhādāt—money given in lieu of daily rations.

Ijārat—wages.

APPENDIX G

AMLĀK AND PRIVY PURSE

'*AFĪF* (pp. 129-130) says that Fīrūz Shāh's canals brought a large area of waste land under cultivation ; the sultan convened an assembly of lawyers, learned jurists and pious *shākh*s and asked their opinion on the following question : " If a man, with personal and financial endeavour, digs irrigation channels from deep rivers and those canals flow into areas (of land), townships and villages, and the dwellers in these places get great profit out of it : is that man entitled to get something for his effort or not ? " The jurists and others decided that such a man was entitled to "*ḥaqq-i-shirb*, that is ten per cent." " On this," says 'Aḥīf, " His Majesty Fīrūz Shāh brought the produce of that *ḥaqq-i-shirb* entirely into his *amlāk* ; similarly that pious monarch, like previous kings, populated many villages in 'dead lands' and put them into his *amlāk*. The produce of these areas was ear-marked for the learned and the pious and kept out of the *bait-u'l-māl*. Definite apportionments were made. During these days *amlāk* consisted of two items :—(i) the produce of *ḥaqq-i-shirb*, (ii) the produce of newly populated villages. An amount of two lacs of *tankahs* was the revenue of His Majesty Fīrūz Shāh's *amlāk*. Praise be to God ! The extent of *amlāk* possessed by Sulṭān Fīrūz was so great that no other king of the Empire of Dehlī possessed so large *amlāk*. At last the *amlāk* became so extensive that a separate staff and a separate treasury were organized for them."

The translation and summary are mine. Before dealing with the problem which this passage raises, the following technical terms require explanation :—

ḥaqq-i-shirb = irrigation dues ; water rate

bait-u'l-māl = Public Treasury
 amlāk = (plural of *milk*) private property.

Moreland in *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (p. 60) thinks this passage too technical; he is not certain of its meaning. A careful analysis of the passage, however, removes the difficulties.

The jurists decided that the man who had constructed the canal was entitled to 10 per cent. It is significant that neither question nor finding mentions the state or the *imām* or the *bait-u'l-māl*. This I take to mean that Fīrūz had constructed these canals out of his own funds and wanted to levy *ḥaqq-i-shirb* in his personal capacity. Hence an inquiry into the nature of private *amlāk* will prove useful. The state often gave tracts of uncultivated land to men of learning and piety so that they might bring it under cultivation. They had to pay only the '*ushr*' on it. If they did not cultivate the land themselves, they could induce peasants to settle in those areas and pay them the usual twenty per cent of the produce; out of this they paid the '*ushr*' (ten per cent of the produce) to the state (*Sīrat-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 147; *Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter XXVIII). Sometimes the state did not realize the '*ushr*', but this concession was considered to be exceptional (*Inshā-i-Māhrū*, Letter XVI). If the grantees were rich, they, in certain instances, dug canals to reap greater benefit from their lands. They had, of course, to obtain permission from the state. Once a canal had been dug by a private individual, the state insisted that he should maintain it. The reason was that the state usually retained an interest in these *amlāk* and realized the '*ushr*' (*ibid.*). Besides a canal was a public asset. The fact that the state realized '*ushr*' is confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (ii, p. 89) who says that when he was appointed as the guardian of Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn's tomb, he was ordered to buy thirty villages which would be attached to the tomb. He would get ten per cent of their produce for its maintenance. The traveller probably bought these villages from some *amlāk*.

Thus Fīrūz Shāh who brought waste land under cultivation with the permission of the state was the owner of the new villages. He realized twenty per cent of the produce from the peasants and paid ten per cent into the treasury for pious purposes.

Then remains the question of *ḥaqq-i-shīrb*, which, let it be noted, 'Afīf puts in a different category from 'the produce of new villages'. Thus the *ḥaqq-i-shīrb* would accrue only in areas which were already under cultivation when the canal was dug. The digger of the canal; therefore, could not claim that he had brought waste land under cultivation and, therefore, he could not claim to be its owner. In such instances, the jurists decided, he was entitled to a tenth of the produce as *ḥaqq-i-shīrb*. The net percentage which he received was the same as would accrue to him from the new villages, but the legal position was different. In this instance, he was not the owner paying '*uṣhr*' to the state, but the owner of irrigation works charging the state a tenth as his dues. To sum up, then, if the canal passed through an area already paying *ḵharāj*, the sultan charged ten per cent. as *ḥaqq-i-shīrb* and paid the rest into the state treasury; thus the sultan and the state each received ten per cent. of the produce. If new land was brought under cultivation on the banks of the royal canal, the peasant still paid twenty per cent. but the sultan claimed to be the owner of these villages and paid only half of what he realized as '*uṣhr*'. Thus the privy purse gained only by ten per cent.

Three facts stand out clearly from the passage :—

- (i) the sultan had private property which was kept separate from state property ;
- (ii) Fīrūz Shāh was not the first sovereign to possess private property ; other sultans of Dehli before him had also their personal property ;
- (iii) private persons were permitted to dig canals.

APPENDIX H

TAXES ABOLISHED BY FĪRŪZ SHĀH

(i) as mentioned by 'Afif :—

1. *dāngānah*.
2. *mustaghil*.
3. *jazzārī*.
4. *dūrī*, suggested readings, *rūzī*, *rorī*.

Dūrī = distance ; *rūzī*, from *rūz* = day ; *rorī*, a Hindi word meaning old bricks. It may be any of these words for the trader had to spend a day in bringing old bricks from a distance.

(ii) as mentioned in the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī* [B.M. or 2039, f. 300a : Printed text, pp. 5, 6]:—

1. *mandwī barg* — *mandwī* = market, *barg* = leaf ; but this cannot be a tax on vegetables, for the *Sirat* mentions a tax called *khidrāwāt* which must have been a vegetable tax. *Barg* means 'leaves'; in all probability this was a tax on leaves sold in the state market.
Leaves are used even now in Hindu homes and shops instead of utensils.
2. *dalālat-i-bāzārkhā* = a tax on brokers (*dallāl* = broker).
3. *jazzārī* — *vide* Chapter VI.
4. *amīrī-i-ṭarab* = amusement tax, probably paid to the *amīr-i-ṭarab* appointed by the state to control musicians, dancers and festive gatherings.

5. *gul-farūshī* = tax on the sale of flowers.
6. *ḍarībah-i-tambūl* = tax on the sale of betel leaves sold in the state market.
The printed text has *jiziyah-i-tambūl* which means 'a tax on betel leaves.' *Sīrat-i-Firūzshāhī* also has '*ḍarībah*'.
7. *chungī-i-ghallah* = octroi on grain and cereals (*chungī* = handful).
8. *kitābī* = a tax on letter-writers, legal scribes, etc.
9. *nīlgarī* = a tax on the manufacture of indigo. The printed text has *belgarī* which is unlikely. *Sīrat-i-Firūzshāhī* has *nīlgarī*.
10. *māhī-farūshī* = a tax on the sale of fish.
11. *nadādfī* = a tax on the carders of cotton
12. *ṣābungarī* = a tax on soap-making.
13. *rīsmān-farūshī* = a tax on selling ropes.
14. *rūghangarī* = a tax on oil-making.
15. *nakhūd-i-biryān* = a tax on parched gram.
16. *tah-bāzārī* = a tax on stall-keepers on public land (used in this sense in parts of North India even to-day).
17. *jhabbah* — This is probably *chhappah*, meaning print. A tax on printed cloth. *Jhabbah* may mean a basket and the tax might be on petty hawkers of fruit and vegetables who carry their wares in baskets or it might have been levied from the makers of such baskets. The printed text has *chhattah* which means a covered passage. When a citizen owns property on either side of a lane, he may connect the two by building a roof like a bridge between the

two. Such a structure is called a *chhattah* and this tax might be on such buildings. This reading is however unlikely.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 18. <i>qimār-khānah</i> | = a tax on gambling places. |
| 19. <i>dādbekī</i> | = court-fees. |
| 20. <i>kotwālī</i> | = police dues. |
| 21. <i>iḥtisābī</i> | = perquisites of the <i>muḥtasib</i> . |
| 22. <i>karhī</i> | — vide Appendix I. |
| 23. <i>chaṛā'ī</i> | = grazing tax, vide Appendix I. |
| 24. <i>muṣādarāt</i> | = fines of various kinds. |

[These names have been reproduced in accordance with the latest readings.]

The printed text (p. 5) adds the following :—

Qaṣṣābī a tax on butchers, this is the same as *jazzārī*, hence several manuscripts omit it.

Kūzah-i-khishṭpuzī this should be *kūzah-wa-khishṭpuzī* — a tax on potteries and brick kilns.

(ii) as mentioned in the *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī* :—

All the taxes mentioned in (ii) with the following exceptions :

kabābī instead of *kitābī*. In this case the tax would be on roast mince sausages.

khidrāwāt = a tax on vegetables.

dāngānah = mentioned in (i).

Most of the taxes mentioned in this appendix fall under the category mentioned in *Inshā-i-Māhrū* (Letter XXXI) as *khārāj-i-muḥtarifah-i-Muslim*, that is, the tax levied from Muslim artisans. This authority also mentions a few taxes peculiar to Multān.

It will be useful to compare this list with the taxes mentioned by Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* (pp. 63-65) :—

Sources of income.

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| 1. mines. | 2. buildings and gardens. |
| 3. forests. | 4. herds of cattle. |
| 5. roads. | 6. tolls. |
| 7. fines. | 8. weights and measures. |

9. town clerk.
10. superintendent of coinage.
11. superintendent of seals and passports.
12. liquor.
13. slaughter of animals.
14. threads.
15. oils.
16. clarified butter.
17. sugar.
18. state goldsmiths.
19. warehouse of merchandise.
20. prostitutes.
21. gambling.
22. building sites.
23. corporation of artisans and handicraftsmen.
24. superintendent of gaols.
25. taxes collected at the gates.
26. produce from crown lands.
27. portion of produce payable to the state.
28. religious taxes.
29. *kara* (taxes paid in money).
30. merchants.
31. superintendent of rivers, ferries, boats and ships.
32. towns.
33. pasture land.
34. road cess.
35. ropes.
36. ropes to bind thieves.
37. all produce from mines.
38. corals, conch shells, etc.
39. gardens of flowers, fruit and vegetables.
40. fields.
41. forests for game, timber or elephants.
42. herds of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horses and mules.
43. land and waterways.
44. compensation for damages.
45. property of men dying without heirs etc.

APPENDIX I

CHARĀ'Ī AND KARHĪ

VARIOUS scholars have read *karhī* as *gharī* and called it a house tax. The word *karhī* occurs in *Baranī* on p. 288 ; Blochmann and Fuller suggest that the word گری after سکونت in the following passage should be read کرهی :—

”دویم آنکه از گاو میشی یا گوسپند هر چه شیر آور بود چرائی بستانند و چرائی تعیین شد و از پس هر خانه سکونت گری طلب نمایند تا هیچ غمته و شتر گریه درستدن خراج نماند و بار اقویا بر ضعف نهند و اقویا وضعفا را در دادن خراج یک حکم باشد“ (*Baranī*, p. 287.)

گری is obviously a mistake ; کرهی sounds more convincing. But it is difficult to agree with the suggestion that کرهی (*karhī*) was a house tax. It is mostly used with *chara'ī* and seems to be in some way connected with it. (*Vide Baranī*, p. 288 ; *Sīrat-i-Firūzshāhī* ; *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*.) Besides, the parallel passages in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (i, p. 153) and *Furishṭah* (i, p. 191) do not mention *karhī*. It may be argued that 'Afif mentions a house tax called *mustaghīl* ; but this was limited to the capital and was rent, not a tax. Besides the context makes it clear that *charā'ī*, *karhī* and *kharāj* are closely related. I think that کرهی comes from کره which means fresh butter ; کری itself means a shed for cattle. The omission of this word from parallel passages in later authorities makes it probable that *karhī* and *charā'ī* were identical ; if they were two different imposts, *charā'ī* was levied for the use of land paying *kharāj* for pasturing animals and *karhī* was a tax on the increase in cattle and would correspond to the ancient Hindu tax of an exactly similar

nature. It is not impossible that the word was pronounced as *kurrahī*, *kurrah* being a colt or a calf. The fact that it was to be levied from every dwelling place should cause no difficulty, for the context shows that the measure was intended to avoid group assessment which enabled the influential chiefs to escape payment by an unjust distribution. Of course the same area could not pay both *charā'i* and *kharāj*.

We hear of *charā'i* under the Mughuls but *karhī* does not find mention; this confirms the opinion that *charā'i* and *karhī* were identical. D. A. (p. 34) uses the Arabic form *marā'i* for the Hindi *charā'i*. Like various other authorities it does not mention *karhī*. Is it possible that ignorant scribes have caused the confusion by transcribing مراعی as گری or کرهی ?

APPENDIX J

'ALĀ-U'D-DĪN KHALJĪ'S CAVALRY

BARANĪ (p. 303) has a crabbed and difficult passage on this question :—

"دویست سی و چهار تنکه بمرتب دهم و هفتاد و هشت تنکه
بدو اسپه دهم و دو اسپ و استعداد بر اندازه آن ازو مرتب طلبم و
یک اسپه و استعداد بر اندازه یک اسپ ازو طلبم"

The text is obviously corrupt and does not make sense. The only information which this passage can be said to contain explicitly is that

(i) a class of cavalry-men was known as *murattab* and another as *do-aspah* ;

(ii) the former were given 234 *tankahs* and the latter 78 *tankahs* as their salary.

These conclusions are confirmed by another passage on p. 319 :—

"از پس آنکه نرخهای اسباب ارزانی گرفت حشم مرتب
بدویست سی و چهار تنکه و دو اسپه بهفتاد و هشت تنکه
بسیار شد و مستقیم گشت"

This leads us to believe that a *murattab* was superior to a *do-aspah*, a view which finds confirmation in the following statement by the same author (p. 320) :

"لشکر اسلام بر لشکر مغل چنان چیره گشت که یک دو اسپه
ده مغل را رشتند در گردن انداختند می آورد و یک سوار مسلمان
صد سوار مغل را پیشی کرده می توانید"

It is obvious that a *do-aspah* was inferior to a *sawār*, a cavalryman, hence a *sawār's* salary should be higher. Besides, these passages read together give us the following grades of

service : a *murattab*, a *sawār*, a *do-aspah*. Now we know that a *murattab* was given 234 *tankahs* and a *do-aspah* 78 *tankahs* ; a *sawar's* salary should be a sum between these two figures. It seems to me that 156 *tankahs* was the *sawar's* pay for the following reasons :—

(i) the *do-aspah* was lower than the *sawār* ; the former term was in all probability applied to the man who was in charge of the led horse belonging to the *murattab* ; 78 *tankahs* was the salary of a man who had to maintain no animal ;

(ii) a *sawār* would get 78 *tankahs* for himself* and 78 *tankahs* for the maintenance of a horse which was not supplied by the state ;

(iii) the *murattab* got 234 *tankahs*, 78 *tankahs* for himself and 78 *tankahs* each for his two horses.

These conclusions find support in *Firishṭah* which says that the salaries under 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī* were 234 *tankahs* for the best, 156 for the middling and 78 for the lowest class of cavalymen (1, p. 199). These suggestions require a complete change in our ideas of the meaning of the word *do-aspah* in our period ; hitherto it has generally been understood to mean a horseman with two horses. The latter was the meaning attached to the word under the *Mughuls*, but the significance of the term obviously underwent a change.

Some scholars have taken exception to these conclusions. They argue that my interpretation (in which I am supported by Professor Hodivala in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 280) gives a meaning to the word *do-aspah* which is entirely different from its connotation under the *Mughuls*. They find it difficult to accept that such a drastic change could have taken place in the application of a term. I take the liberty of reproducing the interpretations of some of these learned scholars.

Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb of the Muslim University, Aligarh, thinks that '*murattab*' has been used for an officer commanding ten soldiers. This, he argues, was the sense in which the term was used under Tīmūr.

The context, I am afraid, does not justify this view, because the passages from *Baranī* quoted in this appendix obviously deal with the recruitment and salaries of ordinary cavalymen and not of petty officers.

Shams-u'l-'ulamā al-Ḥāj Maulawī 'Abd-u'r-Rahmān interprets the figures in *Baranī* in the following manner. He argues that *Baranī's* figure for the salary of a *murattab* gives his annual pay and the figure for a *do-aspah's* salary is for a month. In this way, the salary for a *do-aspah* can be explained easily :—

Basic salary for a soldier	$= 2\frac{2}{3} = 19\frac{1}{3}$	= tankahs per mensem.
Allowance for the upkeep of		
a horse	$= 19\frac{1}{3}$	tankahs per mensem.
Allowance for an additional		
horse	$= 19\frac{1}{3}$	tankahs per mensem.
Allowance for a servant to		
look after the horse	$= 19\frac{1}{3}$	tankahs per mensem.
Total allowance for a soldier		
with two horses or a <i>du-</i>		
<i>aspah</i>	$= 78$	tankahs per mensem.

There are several difficulties in accepting this view :—

(i) it seems odd that *Baranī* should, in the same sentence, give the annual salary of one class of soldiers and the monthly salary of another ;

(ii) this analysis would lead us to believe that a *murattab* soldier had no horse, because the allowance of two horses has to be added to his salary to get the figure for a *do-aspah's* salary ;

(iii) the figures given by *Firishtah* become meaningless, though, according to my interpretation, they confirm *Baranī's* figures.

Yet another explanation has been offered, which may be tabulated as follows :—

Basic salary for a soldier maintaining		
one horse	$= 234$	tankahs,
Additional allowance for maintaining		
another horse	$= 78$	tankahs,

Salary of a soldier with cavalry rank and no horse	=156 <i>tankahs</i> , [234-78=156]
Salary for an infantry man serving in cavalry	=78 ' <i>tankahs</i> .

This explanation has certain advantages, but it envisages four grades instead of three mentioned by *Baranī* as well as *Firishtah* and the difference in the status of a soldier with cavalry rank and one with infantry rank when both did not maintain horses is too great.

All these difficulties disappear if a *do-aspah* is taken to mean a groom looking after the second horse and not a soldier with two horses. There is no reason why Mughul notions should colour the interpretation of the institutions of the Sultanate. If we read مرتب از instead of مرتب از و in the first Persian quotation in this appendix, a good part of our difficulty disappears.

APPENDIX K

THE IBĀḤATIYAHs

KHUSRAW mentions this sect in the *Khazā'in-u'l-futūḥ* (Text, p. 21) and gives a few details about them: "It was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers had cohabited with their own sons and aunts (mothers' sisters) with their nephews; that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters" (Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's translation, p. 127).

Professor Ḥabīb says in a footnote: "By the 'fraternity of incest' is meant the Carmathians, Ismā'īlīs and other Shi'ah 'hēretics' of the sect of seven *imāms*, whom the 'orthodox' Sunnīs. accused of permitting marriages within prohibited degrees and of practising incest in their secret assemblies. The charge, whether right or wrong, was generally believed."

This sect is also mentioned by Fīrūz Shāh in his *Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūzshāhī* (pp. 7, 8) in the following words: "Besides a group of *mulḥids* and Ibāḥatiyahs had come together and persuaded people to accept *ilhād* and *ibāḥat*. They gathered at a fixed place on a night where near relations and strangers met, ate food and drank intoxicating drinks in company and called this worship. They made an image and induced people to prostrate themselves before it. They brought together their wives, mothers and sisters during that night and (they drew lots of the garments of the assembled women and) whichever woman's garment a man drew, he cohabited with her. I beheaded their leaders who were Shi'ahs and imprisoned, exiled or punished others so that their mischief was completely eradicated from the dominions of Islam."

It is noteworthy that the phrase "who were Shi'ahs" does not occur in all the manuscripts (*vide* editor's note on p. 8). This phrase seems to be a later interpolation.

The reason why the sect has been identified by some scholars with the Ismā'īlīs is that they were accused of similar practices. They had adopted secret methods of propaganda from the Manicheans and Mazdakīs. They did not disclose the place or time of their assemblies to the uninitiated and an air of mystery surrounded all their activities. Hence they were very often unjustly confused with the Manicheans and the Mazdakīs (*Kitāb-u'l-milāl wa'n-naḥl*, ed. Curéton, p. 147). The Mazdakīs believed in extreme communism which included the doctrine of sharing wives as well. There is no proof that the followers of Qarāmaṭ or any other section of the Ismā'īlīs believed in incest. Indeed there are reasons to believe that such accusations are baseless.

So far as the sect mentioned in the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī* is concerned it could not have been any section of the Ismā'īlīs. Firūz Shāh treats the Shi'ahs in a separate paragraph. Besides, he mentions already that the Ibāḥatīyahs made an image and worshipped it. No one has ever accused the Ismā'īlīs of idolatry.

The parallel passage in *Sirat-i-Firūzshāhī* (p. 146) adds to our information. It runs as follows: "The officials of the city stated before the imperial throne, may God make its dominion eternal, that a group of the *mulḥids* and Ibāḥatīyahs have appeared in the city and persuade people to join their false religion. They have an appointed day when they gather at a place fixed for the purpose. They plaster the ground with cowdung and, in accordance with the custom of idolaters, scatter rice and flower on it. They, then, ask the person whom they want to turn into a follower to prostrate himself on the ground, teach him formulas of infidelity, and ask him to repudiate Islam and to say that he has become their follower. That night they collect their daughters, wives, mothers and sisters and give them

pork to eat and wine to drink. Then the lamp is put out and they take off the garments of the women. Every one then pulls out a garment and cohabits with the woman to whom the garment belongs, even though she may be his own mother, sister or daughter."

It is quite obvious that the customs of plastering the ground with cowdung and throwing rice and flowers on it are not Muslim. Nor does any section of the Muslims consider pork to be clean. There is a casual mention of this sect on p. 59 which shows clearly that the Ibāḥatīyahs were not Ismā'īlīs: "The inhabitants of the land of Jājnagar are all polytheists, eternal wine bibblers, great drunkards, idolaters, Ibāḥatī *mulḥids*. These *mulḥids* have taken images for their gods and in every city they have a temple. The more famous of these is Jāgannāth." This reference makes it quite clear that the Ibāḥatīyahs were a sect of the Hindus. Professor Hodivala is right in identifying this sect with the Vāma-mārgī or Vāma-chārī section of the *Shāktas*. "The Tāntras constitute the scriptures of this sect and the essential requisites of Tantric worship are the five *makāras*, wine, flesh, fish, mystical gesticulations and sexual intercourse. These Vāma-mārgīs or Vāma-chārīs worship the female principle, not only symbolically but in actual woman and promiscuous intercourse is said to constitute a necessary part of the orgies. The garments mentioned by the sultan is the female devotee's *choli* or *kancholi*, i.e., bodice (H. H. Wilson: *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, Works, ed. Rost, I, pp. 254-263). Mr. Crooks say that one division of the Vāma-mārgīs is known as Choli-mārgīs because they make the women place in a jar their bodices, the owners of which are then allotted by chance to the male worshippers. The ceremony is called Bhairavī-chakra (*Tribes and Castes*, I, pp. 136-137)" (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 342).

The followers of this sect still exist in various parts of India. They seem to have been particularly strong in

Orissa (Jājnagar of Muslim historians) at the time of Firūz Shāh's invasion. That they were not unknown in other parts of India is also certain. They find mention in the *Dabistān-i-madhāhib* as one of the religious sects of Shāh Jahān's time.

Professor Hodivala, however, curiously contradicts himself on p. 282 (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*) where he is inclined to believe that the Ibāḥatīyahs were Ismā'ilīs. It is true that here he is discussing the Ibāḥatīyahs in the reign of 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī, but it is unlikely that the term should have changed its significance in such a short time.

Barāni (p. 336) says that Ibāḥatīyahs and Bodhagan appeared in the city در شهر بود هگان و اباحتیای پدید آمدند. Professor Hodivala thinks that Lodhagan is a misprint for Borhagan (plural of Borah. The Bohras are a sect of the Ismā'ilīs). This conclusion is based on the assumption that the Ibāḥatīyahs were Ismā'ilīs, an assumption which the Professor himself discards in his comments on the translation of *Futūḥat-i-Firūzshāhi* in Elliot & Dowson. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 342). There is no difficulty in understanding and interpreting the word Bodhagān. Blochmann (T. A. S. B., 1870, p. 51 note) did not have all the data before him. The Ibāḥatīyahs were a Tantric sect; Tantrism was a common feature of the later day Mahāyāna Buddhism in its debased form. The Muslim chronicler, therefore, considered the Vāma-chāris to be Buddhists, hence *Barāni* uses the term Bodhagan (or Buddhists) for this sect. Ibāḥatīyah has been used as a synonym to convey some idea of the customs of this sect to Muslim readers.

APPENDIX L

KHŪṬ

THE etymology of the word khūṭ is doubtful. It seems highly improbable that the rare Arabic word khūṭ meaning 'a fine young man' should have been applied to Hindu chiefs without any precedent. W. H. Moreland dismisses the theory that khūṭ is the arabicized form of *khot* which was in use in Gujrat and Konkan for two reasons:—

(i) the presence of two Arabic letters kh and ṭ in the words;

(ii) *khot* has not been traced further back than the sixteenth century. (Moreland, pp. 225-226.)

To take (ii) first, the word *khot* is probably a corruption of the word *kūta* in *grāmakūta*, a village official mentioned in Kautilya's *Arthashāstra*.

The existence of the Arabic kh (which is also Persian) and ṭ should cause no difficulty: the term was arabicized probably under the Ghaznavids whose earlier *wazīr*'s used Arabic ('*Utbi*, pp. 366, 367). The nearest transliteration of *khot* would be خوت which can be read either as khōṭ or khūṭ. This would not be a solitary instance of such transliteration, e.g., Bahāṭiyah for Bhatiyah, which is common in '*Utbi* and has been copied in other chronicles. These examples can be multiplied.

APPENDIX M

SHER SHĀH'S LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

THE following are the names of the various *parganah* officials in accordance with the different texts :—

<i>Tuḥfah-i-Akbar-shāhī</i>	<i>Da'ūdī</i>	<i>Muṣṭafī</i> <i>Elliot text</i> (B. M. 1929)	<i>Muṣṭafī</i> (B. M. 11633)
1 <i>shiqqdār</i>	1 <i>shiqqdār</i>	1 <i>shiqqdār</i>	1 <i>shiqqdār</i>
1 <i>amīn</i>	1 <i>mushrif</i>	1 <i>munṣif</i>	1 <i>munṣif</i>
1 <i>foṭahdār</i>	1 <i>khazānchī</i>	1 <i>khazānchār</i>	...
...	...	1 <i>munṣif-i-khazānah</i>	...
1 <i>kārkun Hindī-nawīs</i>	1 <i>kārkun Hindī-nawīs</i>	1 <i>kārkun Hindī-nawīs</i>	1 <i>kārkun</i>
1 <i>kārkun Fārsī-nawīs</i>	1 <i>kārkun Fārsī-nawīs</i>	1 <i>kārkun Fārsī-nawīs</i>	...
1 <i>qānūngū</i>
F. 69 (a)	F. 79 (b)	F. 50 (b)	F. 49 (a)

The following points emerge from the above table :—

- (i) *shiqqdār* was the head of the *parganah* ;
- (ii) *amīn*, *mushrif* and *munṣif* are synonymous in the official jargon of the day ;

literally, *amīn* = honest, keeper of a trust ;

mushrif = inspector ;

munṣif = judge.

'Abbās Sarwānī (B. M. or 164, f. 73b) says that an *amīn*'s duty was to assess the damage done to crops by movements of troops ; that is, he was the 'judge' of damage done to crops ; a *mushrif* assessed the produce of crops.

The two functions are closely related. It seems almost certain that this officer, known in different areas by different names, was responsible for assessment ;

(iii) *foṭah*=¹purse¹; *foṭahdār*=treasurer ;

khazānchī, *khazānahdār* are more common words for a treasurer ;

(iv) *kārkun*, literally 'a worker' was the same as *nawī-sindah*, a clerk ;

(v) a *munṣif-i-khazānah* mentioned by *Muṣhtāqī* seems to be a mistake ; if the officer existed at all he would be an inspector of treasuries and would belong to a bigger unit than a *parganah* ;

(vi) a *qānūngū* was not exactly a member of the *parganah* staff ; he was more a representative of the peasants ; hence he is not mentioned by other authorities ;

(vii) omissions in B. M. 11633 are probably a copyist's error or due to his desire for brevity.

The following officials are mentioned for a *sarkār* :—

'Abbās Sarwānī	Muṣhtāqī	Zubdat-u't-tawārikh
(Sher Shāh)	(Sher Shāh)	(Islām Shāh)
shiqqdār-i-shiqqdārān	shiqqdār-i-shiqqdārān	shiqqdār
munṣif-i-munṣifān	munṣif-i-munṣifān	muṣhrif
...	...	kārkun
MS, or 164 f. 69 (b)	Elliot MS, or 1929 f. 52 (b)	B. M. MS. 10580 ff. 123 (b) 124 (a)

The chief *shiqqdār* and the chief assessment officer are common to these authorities ; a *kārkun* and a treasurer were indispensable ; they are not mentioned by some chronicles for they were probably looked upon as merely clerks.

¹ This is based on Francis Johnson's Dictionary, but Arabic scholars take exception to this meaning. The *Ghiyāth-u'l-lughāt* says that *foṭah* is in reality *foṭah* which means revenue. According to this interpretation the word *foṭahdār* would mean a keeper of revenue or a treasurer. If eht *Ghiyāth* is correct, *foṭah* is probably an Arabicized form of some Hindi word, most likely *potah* or a bag of corn.

APPENDIX N

COINAGE

VERY little light is thrown by the chronicles on the working of mints or the numismatic history of the period; the relevant passages have been fully utilized by Mr. Nelson Wright. It will be superfluous to repeat here the views expressed in his work, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehlī*. The evidence produced in favour of a forty-eight *jītal tankah* is conclusive. The pieces mentioned in the *Ṣubḥ-u'l-a'shā* as well as 'Afif are multiples of 3 as well as 2, which cannot fit into a sixty-four *jītal tankah*. The only flaw in the argument—the explicit mention of a sixty-four *jītal tankah* in the *Masālik-u'l-abṣār*—is more than counterbalanced by incontrovertible evidence contained in another passage.¹ The fifty *jītal tankah* also became popular in the north; it first originated in the Deccan.² The numismatic evidence contained in Nelson Wright's book adds Fīrūz Shāh Zafar ibn Fīrūz Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh ibn Abū Bakr and Aḥmad bin Fīrūz to the list of Indian monarchs.³ There is no mention of these sultans in the chronicles; the date on the extant coins rules out the suggestion that Fīrūz Shāh Zafar was invested with authority during his father's life-time.⁴ He seems to have succeeded Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq II. Fīrūz Shāh ibn Abū Bakr is capable of being distinct.⁵ It is difficult to make a concrete suggestion in

¹ N. Wright, pp. 395-396. *Mez* (p. 475) says about the *dirham*, "The smaller coinage was graded on the sexagesimal system: 1 *dirham*=6 *daniq*=12 *qirat*=24 *tassing*=48 *ḥabbah*."

² 'Afif, p. 344; N. Wright, pp. 219-221.

³ *Numismatic Journal*, 1938, Part IV, p. 303. 'Thomas, p. 297

⁵ N. Wright, Plate XXI, No. B812 B.

view of the lack of proper evidence ; these might have been read as Abū Bakr ibn Fīrūz Shāh ; but Aḥmad is quite crowned monarchs or just pretenders during those days of turmoil. 'Afiḥ mentions an interesting incident which shows how sensitive public opinion was regarding the purity of the coinage. The value of a shashgānī denomination having been questioned, the *wazīr* took spectacular, though fraudulent, measures to re-establish its reputation.¹ The coin was then restored to its full value. The *wazīr*'s remark on hearing the report of the suspicion regarding the value of the coin is significant. "The coins of the monarchs of the various countries of the world," said the *wazīr*, "are like virgin daughters : if, God forbid, a virgin daughter's reputation is injured and she rightly or wrongly gets a bad name, even though she be highly accomplished and beautiful, no one will desire her."²

¹ For full story read 'Afiḥ, pp. 344-349. The fraud consisted in the introduction of extra silver into the crucible used for melting the coin to examine its silver contents.

² 'Afiḥ, p. 345.

APPENDIX O

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SULTANS

	DATES OF ACCESSION	
	<i>Hijri era</i>	<i>Christian era</i>
1. QUTBĪS		
1. Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak	... 602	1206
2. Ārām Shāh	... 607	1210
3. Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish	... 607	1210
4. Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz	... 633	1235
5. Jalālāt-u'd-dīn Raḍiyah	... 634	1236
6. Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām	... 637	1240
7. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd	... 639	1242
8. Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd	... 644	1246
9. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban	... 664	1266
10. Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād	... 686	1287
11. Shams-u'd-dīn Kaiyūmarth	... 689	1290
2. KHALJĪS		
12. Jalāl-u'd-dīn Firūz	... 689	1290
13. Rukn-u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm	... 695	1296
14. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad	... 695	1296
15. Shihāb-u'd-dīn 'Umar *	... 715	1316
✓ 16. Qutb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh	... 716	1316
17. Shams-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd (Pretender)	... 718	1318
17. Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Khusrāw	... 720	1320
3. HOUSE OF TUGHLUQ		
18. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq I	... 720	1320
19. Muḥammad bin Tughluq	... 725	1325
20. Firūz Shāh	... 752	1351
21. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq II	... 790	1388
22. Firūz Shāh Zafar	... 791	1389
23. Abū Bakr	... 791	1389
24. Muḥammad bin Firūz	... 792	1390
25. Sikandar	... 795	1393

	<i>Hijrī era</i>	<i>Christian era</i>
26. Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad	... 795	1393
27. Nuṣrat (Interregnum)	... 797-802 ?	1395
28. Daulat <u>Khān</u> Lodī	... 815	1413
4. SAYYIDS		
29. <u>Khidr Khān</u>	... 817	1414
30. Mubārak <u>Shāh</u>	... 824	1421
31. Muḥammad bin Farīd	... 837	1434
32. 'Ālam <u>Shāh</u>	... 849	1445
5. LODĪS		
33. Buhlūl	... 855	1451
34. Sikandar	... 894	1489
35. Ibrāhīm	... 923	1517
• [Mughul Emperors]		
Zahīr-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur	... 932	1526
Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Humāyūn	... 937	1530
6. SŪRS		
36. <u>Sher Shāh</u>	... 945	1538
37. Islām <u>Shāh</u>	... 952	1545
38. Muḥammad 'Ādil <u>Shāh</u>	... 960	1552
39. Ibrāhīm <u>Shāh</u>	... 962	1554
40. Sikandar <u>Shāh</u>	... 962	1554
Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Humāyūn (restored)	... 962	1555

(Based on *N. Wright*)

APPENDIX F

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

[Abbreviations :—

B. M.	=British Museum
I. O.	=India Office
C. U. L.	=Cambridge University Library
Bod.	=Bodleian Library
Bib. Nat.	=Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Nat. Bib.	=National Bibliothek in Wien
Bib. Indica	=Bibliotheca Indica.]

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